HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT IN THE BORDERS REGION: AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERRELATION BETWEEN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING FOR LABOUR IN THE LIGHT OF STATE INTERVENTION

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This Thesis is composed by myself and is my own work.

Abstract of Thesis

The central issue in this thesis is the analysis of the links (interrelation) between employment and housing. The analysis is an attempt to go beyond the obvious necessity to match houses to workers and the problems of imaginative and accurate projections and to locate the understanding of this issue within the complex of historically determined social relations of production, and of reproduction. For this purpose the abortive case of Tweedbank Development in the Border Region has been chosen and contrasted with the prevailing situation with housing and employment in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Central in this contrast are:

- the different forms of development of the textile industry and its impact upon housing for labour in the burghs of Hawick and Galashiels;
- the strong presence of workers owner occupation, especially in Hawick during the late nineteenth century;
- the paramount importance of the State in the provision of housing and industrial development during the 1960's; and
- the contradictions exposed in the conflict between the State and local interests representing different factions of the ruling class.

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Contents

Contents
(Continued)

Contents
(Continued)

Contents
(Continued)

Contents
(Continued)

List of Tables and Graphs

List of Tables and Graphs

(Continued)

List of Tables and Graphs

(Continued)

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to attempt an analysis of the interrelation between housing and employment taking the Border Region as the basis for the manifestation of different forms of this interrelation in a historically determined way.

The context is that of social relations of production and reproduction, especially of the reproduction of labour power in the physical sense, as well as in the sense of the reproduction of dominant forms of social relations. For this purpose two different historical "moments" have been chosen: the second half of the nineteenth century and the 1960's. In both instances housing was a hot issue and was linked directly to employment, especially to the need for attracting and keeping in the Borders the labour necessary for the local textile industry, as well as establishing and reproducing a labour reserve army. Given the long established trend of female employment in the textile industry this meant, in the light of development strategies in the 60's, attracting young families as well as male employing industry and providing the necessary housing. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the thesis is not a detailed historical account of employment and housing in the Borders over 100 years. These different historical moments have been chosen because we feel that an understanding of the different forms of tenure which existed and of the issues and controversies involved can give a useful insight into the problematic of providing housing for labour and the significance of State involvement in this field.

Inevitably, due to the way the subject matter is approached and the broad questions asked, the analysis puts an emphasis on developing general themes rather than a close-up detailed account. Perhaps a few words about how the decision was taken to carry out this research would help explain this orientation.

During my work in the field of housing rights and as a housing advisor and training officer for the Citizens Advice Bureau in Scotland, I dealt with many cases concerning housing problems, housing legislation, local authority administration in this field, etc. The Borders were one of the areas I worked a lot and eventually came to live in. While carrying out my duties in advising and teaching I came across many instances of different tenures in the area and also, different attitudes, as well as expressions of what I came to see as locally specific forms of social relations. Question-marks started forming in my head: about the links between local industry and forms of housing tenure; about how "feudal" the present day complex of social relations really is; about the alleged lack of militancy of the Border working class — an asset widely advertised in the efforts to attract incoming industry.

Eventually I decided on doing research to analyze the triangular (as I saw it then) relationship between employers, workers and the State. In that approach there was already implied a "neutrality" of the State, and the assumption that all three parties are more or less on equal footing.

In the process of doing the research, the empirical findings, especially the significant level of workers owner occupation in Hawick, and the heated controversy at Tweedbank added dimensions and further question-marks, while reading more on housing and the State within a Marxist conceptual framework.

Due to personal circumstances the thesis has been written over a long period of time, during which both my theoretical orientation and approach to research have not, of course, remained static. Also, from a point onward it was not possible to collect more information, especially concerning Tweedbank. This has perhaps contributed further to the discussion's not going deeper in parts of it. Nevertheless, the main intention has been, from the beginning, to grasp manifestations of the interrelation between housing and employment across the two different moments of capitalist development mentioned above, and so it has been and still remains a work of broad strokes rather than detailed focusing.

The first chapter includes a presentation of the main theoretical orientation and a number of concepts relating to the process of reproduction of social relations, the problems of reproducing a labour reserve army, the State and housing.

The second chapter gives an insight into the Borders before the establishment of the factory system, with special reference to the textile industry and housing set against the background of prevailing conditions in physical infrastructure, services and existing social relations.

The third chapter examines in more detail the impact of population influx into the towns of Hawick and Galashiels upon the local textile industry and the main lines of development in the two sectors, woolen and hosiery. Finally, it gives a more detailed account of housing and prevailing tenure categories in these two industrial towns toward the end of the nineteenth century. Throughout the chapter the aim is to relate the emergence of housing problems for labour — and the different response to these problems in the two towns — to the particular character of the textile industry's development, a process which for that period must be understood in the light of both locally specific conditions of production and the impact of the general operation of the fundamental laws of capital accumulation.

Chapter Four is exactly what its title signifies. By using the term "interlude" there is a danger to imply that historically the inter-war period was for the Borders an interlude followed by renewed activity and economic expansion. This, however, would be wrong, as from 1890 onwards the local textile industry — especially the woolen sector — stopped being the great magnet for employment in the area and the Borders took their place among the economically stagnant, depopulating idyllic countryside areas. The term "interlude" refers rather to the way of presentation in the thesis, and to the realisation that in dealing with two historical moments placed so far apart, it is important to "bridge the gap" so to speak, especially as during that period practically all housebuilding activity ceased.

Chapter Five sets forth the prevailing conditions in population, industry and housing in the post-war period. The contrast with the

booming Borders economy of the late nineteenth century is obvious, but so are the persisting characteristics. These conditions — themselves a product of the tendencies inherent in capital at large — formed the basis upon which the need for State intervention was argued in the 1960's.

Chapter Six focuses on State intervention in both employment and housing for labour in the Borders and discusses the problems involved and the limits to State action. Tweedbank controversy has served as a useful exploding point, where attitudes, fears, etc. concerning the existing social relations of production locally came to the fore. Moreover, the contradictions involved in state action and the conflicts between State and fractions of capital became apparent. Thus, the two issues of employment and housing for labour emerged mediated by all these links in the long chain of social relations of production and reproduction.

Chapter Seven is an attempt to draw together the various themes running through the thesis and summarize the essential points in the interrelation between employment and housing for labour and the central position of state action in this interrelation in monopoly capitalism.

CHAPTER 1

MAIN THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

I. The Process of Social Reproduction

1. The process of social reproduction, as an ongoing process of production, is necessary for the survival and continuation of society, whatever its particular mode of production. Even assuming the reproduction of wealth on the existing scale (i.e. without taking into account accumulation), this presupposes that the mass of the yearly product is not completely lost to the production process by individual consumption but at least part of it is used for the acquisition of new means of production, and is thus separated for productive consumption by virtue of which it re-enters the process of production. Therefore, "the conditions of production are at the same time the conditions of reproduction," [1] and the social form of the production process determines that of reproduction. In capitalism where production is carried out on an ever increasing scale according to the laws of accumulation, reproduction has also to be on an extended scale.

2. The crucial characteristic of capitalist production, which also lies at the heart of the fundamental relation between capital and labour, is that human labour power becomes a commodity and as such, it can be sold in the market and then consumed by the capitalist who does so by putting the worker to work. Its use value for the capitalist lies not only in the fact that it creates value, but in that it can produce more than is necessary for its own reproduction, its own replacement. This surplus product is further used by the capitalist who appropriates it partly for his own needs and

gratification, but primarily for the further purchase of labour power, means of production and so on, on an extended, ever expanding scale. The worker, therefore, in this recurring production does not only create wealth, but the conditions for the reproduction of human labour in the form of wage labour as a commodity:

> Since the process of production is also the process of the consumption of labour-power by the capitalist, the worker's product is not only constantly converted into commodities, but also into capital, i.e. into value that sucks up the worker's value-creating power, means of subsistence that actually purchase human beings, and means of production that employ the people who are doing the producing. Therefore, the worker himself constantly produces objective wealth, in the form of capital, an alien power that dominates and exploits him; and the capitalist just as constantly produces labour power, in the form of a subjective source of wealth which is abstract, exists merely in the physical body of the worker, and is separated from its own means of objectification and realisation; in short, the capitalist produces the worker as wage-labourer. This incessant reproduction, this perpetuation of the worker, is the absolutely necessary condition for capitalist production. [2]

Reproduction, therefore, does not only include the replacement of what is constantly consumed during production (i.e. labour power, means of production), but most importantly the reproduction of this fundamental relation between capital and labour, of labour as wage labour, and of the worker as wage worker, "the capitalist's most indispensable means of production." [3]

3. On the worker's side we can distinguish two kinds of consumption:

a. Productive consumption: This takes place during the process of production when he is using up raw materials, machinery, etc. and converts them into products which embody higher value than that which was originally advanced in the form of capital (since labour power creates more value than is necessary for its own replacement), and

b. Individual consumption: during which the worker buys with his wages his means of subsistence.

These two kinds of consumption appear to be distinct, the first incorporated in the production process where the worker "acts as the motive power of capital and belongs to the capitalist";[4] the second going on outside production where the worker belongs to himself. Individual consumption is vital to reproduction: firstly because the means of subsistence are commodities and, as with all commodities, by their purchase surplus value can be realised and a big part of it can be pumped back into the production process in the various forms of capital (constant, variable); and secondly because it is a sine-qua-non for the existence and reproduction of the working class. The worker's individual consumption, therefore, is not a "loss" to the capitalist. On the contrary, "the maintenance and reproduction of the working class remains a necessary condition for the reproduction of capital." [5]

4. The sum of the means of subsistence represent the value of labour power, i.e. the socially necessary time for the production of the commodities needed for its renewal. But the fundamental property

of labour is precisely that it can produce more than is absolutely necessary for its own replacement (a property increased many times by the development of the productive forces and the ever increasing socialisation of labour). As the capitalist pays the worker the value of his labour power in the form of wages and appropriates the surplus product of this labour in the form of profits, which can contribute to further accumulation (and hence continuation of his existence as well), he is interested in reducing individual consumption by the working class to the necessary minimum. This includes restricting demands, lowering of living standards (the "tightening of the belt" philosophy), preaching the virtues of thrift and also, having the working class take on as much as possible of the burden of providing the necessary elements of their own reproduction (e.g. health, caring of the very young, the old and the victims of capital: the sick and the infirm, paying for their own home, etc.). The family and the unpaid labour of women within the home have been and still are of fundamental importance here, where capital and patriarchy form an insoluble, albeit contradictory alliance (see later on in this chapter — section on housing, p.51).

Increasingly, and within the post-war period, the state has assumed a big part of the responsibility for carrying the burden of reproduction in capitalist society. The degree and form of this involvement differ according to the particular, historically determined conditions prevailing, both as regards capitalist organisation, and state formation.

So far we have referred here to the process of reproduction in its barest essentials, at a very basic level stripped of the countless shades of empirical manifestations of this process. What we are confronted with in our everyday life is not a coherent block representing capital, not a single capitalist but a variety of individual capitals ranging from the small firm to the big multinational, all engaged in competition for profit maximisation, which is the motor force behind decisions taken at the firm level. Similarly, the workers sell their labour power to these individual capitals — either repeatedly to the same one, or to different ones in succession and they identify with and/or against specific capitals. During times of boom and accelerated accumulation, especially in areas away from big centres of population and industry, which may also depend on skilled labour (as was the case of the Borders and the local Textile industry), the local working class may even have a considerable bargaining strength. But this "freedom" to move about is all too precarious and disappears under the threat of unemployment in moments of crisis. Exploitation and subjection of labour to capital, which is the essence of their relation, are reasserted. This subjection does not usually appear in the direct application of force and compulsion by the employer (although this too is used when necessary and deemed inevitable). It is on the whole accomplished through what Marx called "the dull compulsion of economic forces," or the mystifying and ever so useful term "the present economic climate," which is often used (and increasingly by the state too) to justify assaults on working class standards and/or failures of state action. So what appears as the worker's

exercise of freedom of choice conceals his subjection to capital, for:

> it is the alternating rhythm of the process itself which throws the worker back onto the market again and again as a seller of his labour power and continually transforms his own product into a means by which another man can purchase him. In reality, the worker belongs to capital before he has sold himself to the capitalists. His economic bondage is at once mediated through and concealed by the periodic renewal of the act by which he sells himself, his change of masters and the oscillations in the market price of his labour. [6]

Workers experience exploitation not in relation to any sum-total of capitals, but as the concrete conditions and actions of single, and at any rate specific capitals, in fact, of their employers, managers, etc. (Capital at large usually confronts them through the state which appears to be independent of the capitalist class.) Similarly, the process of reproduction and of labour power in particular, appears as a separate process, based either on individualised consumption taking part within the home and, to a large extent, through the unpaid labour of women, or as collective consumption organised by the state "in the interest of society at large." Production and reproduction thus appear increasingly as two separate realms, while there is a transformation of the organisation of reproductive activity, towards increasing individuation and isolation within the confines of the nuclear family, and/or towards state-provided services, many of which are taken out of the immediate influence of classes on the local level. The history of local authority reform in Britain presents some useful insights into this rivalry between local and central state over the control and continu-

ation of reproductive activity.

Throughout what are enormous changes, however, the fundamental relation between capitalist and worker, between capital and labour, when stripped to its bare essentials, remains unchanged. The complex of relations (remarkable in its variety of form) which surrounds and enriches it cannot alter its essence which asserts itself with particular acuteness during times of crisis. Indeed, within British capitalism the very richness of this complex is a witness of the versatility and manoeuvering of the bourgeoisie in its constant effort to maintain and restructure this basic relation in the face of class struggle. Reproduction, therefore, does not only have a physical side, something more is needed than the physical renewal of labour power and the means of production: a "frame of mind." The worker must go back every day not only rested, fed, sexually serviced, but also with the right frame of mind for work according to capital's requirements, ready to accept his position as "natural," "inevitable," ready to cooperate with his fellow workers and his employer, ready to accept new measures designed to raise productivity, which put extra pressure on him and his performance (speed-ups, new machinery, altered layout at shop floor, etc.).

This aspect of reproduction is of crucial importance, but, also very problematic, because it relates to values and habits about life, work, and what can rightfully be expected. In short, it has a strong cultural element which differs from society to society and over time within the same society. The development of the factory system in Britain was marked by the long struggle by independent

craftsmen, who refused to submit to the drudgery of factory work — to them, a shameful and dishonourable slavery.

The problem of reproducing the social relations of production, especially during times of intensive restructuring of capital, in areas which have remained outside big centres of accumulation, may be particularly difficult: locally specific practices can develop, which presuppose, for their preservation, the continuation of the areas' isolation. However, the increasing ideological penetration, even of remote areas through the mass media, state education, etc., makes this a hard task at least to a certain degree. Controlling the local press, organising local social events are only some of the measures taken by the ruling classes in such areas of which the Scottish Borders are an example. The possible influx of workers "from outside," especially from industrial centres with a tradition of labour militancy may seem a big threat indeed to the employers of isolated rural areas which depend on one or two staple industries, with a tradition of low wages and low militancy.

II. The Concept of the Industrial Reserve Army of Labour

1. Capital and the Need for a Relative Surplus Population

Capital needs labour for its valorisation and its reproduction (of the capital social relation) which guarantees its existence.

The amount and character (skills, sex, age, etc.) of labour are not given for all times but vary. In an assumed stagnating situation over a certain period of time, the natural increase of the population could theoretically be the main source of new labour needed to replace ageing and incapacitated labour. But this situation does not exist in reality, partly because Capital is self-expanding value and needs to accumulate for its very existence, partly because due to the force of competition and the process of concentration, labour tends to drift towards the "strong spatial points" of capital, the centres of accumulation. To ensure the replacement of ageing and incapacitated labour and to expand labour numbers beyond mere replacement is vital for accumulation of capital in general.

Given the periodic cycles of boom and depression inherent in the processes of capital accumulation and the lack of predictability and order in this process, predictions about labour needs are never effective and accurate enough. This is why Capital, as it exists in the form of many capitals, needs a pool of labour, in Marxist terms, "a Labour Reserve Army" available at any time. But this pool of labour, this surplus labour is not given to capital by some agency

outside its domain, it is created by the very operation of its fundamental laws of motion, which, through the need to reduce the variable component of capital in relation to its constant component create a relative redundant working population:

> In some spheres a change in the composition of capital occurs without any increase in its absolute magnitude, as a consequence of simple concentration, in others the absolute growth of capital is connected with the absolute diminution in its variable component or, in other words, in the labour power absorbed by it; in others again capital continues to grow for a time on its existing technical basis, and attracts additional labour-power in proportion to its increase, while at other times it undergoes organic change and reduces its variable part; in all spheres the increase of the variable part of the capital, and therefore of the number of workers employed by it, is always connected with violent fluctuations and the temporary production of a surplus population, whether this takes the more striking form of the extrusion of workers already employed, or the less evident but not less real, form of a greater difficulty in absorbing the additional working population through its customary outlets, the working population therefore produces both the accumulation of capital and the means by which it is itself made relatively superfluous; and it does this to an extent which is always increasing.[7]

So this relative surplus population (relative because we are not talking about two different groups of people, but of the same population, now attracted to the ranks of employed labour, now repelled back to the ranks of the unemployed), is both a creation and a fundamental condition for the process of accumulation of capital.

Left to the operation of the "blind economic forces," the LRA tends to concentrate in certain areas, especially those where greater

concentration of capital at one point during economic growth periods attract labour, only to leave behind unemployment and decay as industry pulls out to move elsewhere, or closes down all together.

A labour reserve army must always be ready to move where capital needs it, and, at any rate, it must always be ready to enter the cycle of employment. Therefore the relative surplus population must constantly reproduce their labour power physically, as well as reproduce the "right frame of mind" which will ensure the continuation of the basic social relations. In the pre-"Welfare State" era, this was done through charity, and through various activities of the ruling classes. Or, as is also often the case (especially with present day dependent countries), workers would enter some sort of employment (often shady self-employment) or be underemployed (e.g. part-time female labour), in order to ensure a basis for subsistence.

In modern Capitalism in the advanced capitalist countries the State affects the mobility of the LRA, either by guaranteeing a minimum subsistence level through the distribution of part of socialized surplus value in the form of benefits, council housing, etc. — in which case it contributes to the retention of labour within a certain area (see also effect of council housing rules on mobility); or it affects (in some cases in recent history also enforces) mobility by making available conditions which encourage industry to move and make it possible for labour also to move in search for new jobs — primarily again through the availability of benefits and housing. While sketching out the above argument, however, we must keep in mind that the capital relation is an antagonistic relation and the particular

forms of its reproduction are also the outcome of historically determined forms of class struggle. The whole question, therefore, of mobility of labour and of the LRA in particular is answered in ways which are the result of class struggle. Thus, while in nineteenth century Britain the influx of part of the LRA in search for work would have been accommodated through further overcrowding and pauperism, today it is assumed that housing must be provided and that the State must be responsible for this. Again, the standard of housing, the conditions under which it is provided, etc. reflect the character of class struggle at the particular moment.

2. The Different Forms of the Relative Surplus Population (or Industrial Reserve Army) (and Some Issues Relating to its Reproduction)

Marx distinguishes three main forms of relative surplus population: the latent, the floating and the stagnant.

a. The latent form of relative surplus population appeared historically with the development of capitalist production in agriculture and the falling demand for a rural working population, throughout the second half of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries. The great fall in wages at this time meant that the impoverished agricultural worker was on the look-out for alternative employment in the growing industries of the towns. So the constant movement towards the town presupposes the existence in the countryside of a constant latent surplus population. During times of great leaps

forward in the capitalist organisation of agriculture, this movement took unprecedented and dramatic dimensions, when (as with the enclosures in Britain) masses of rural workers were thrown out of the farms and forced to turn to the young industries of the towns, thus providing them with cheap and abundant labour power. The transformation of the latent surplus population into active labour brought (especially during the enclosures, when it also took place on a scale involving great numbers), deep changes in the household unit, while it made a big part of the rural workers, who had previously been accustomed to using certain skills, in textiles for instance, to supplement their agricultural activities, totally dependent on wage labour for their survival. C. Smout, in his History of the Scottish People[8] describes a way of life and pattern of relationships in the large farm unit which contrast sharply with descriptions of the large number of workers being piled into the mills:

> In this society, servants and cottars are poorer than gudemen (tenant farmers) — yet the distance between them is one of degree rather than kind, even in material things. The gudeman produced food for the market to provide himself with the money income needed to pay the rent to the laird and to pay such wages as were not in kind: plainly he consumed much of what was produced either in his own family or as wages to his employees. The cottars and servants had only a little cash. The hind paid rent to the farmer through his wife's work on the land, and raised food in his own kaleyard of infield holding mainly for his own consumption. At the social level there were very close bonds. Gudeman and servant ate at the same table, shared the same fireside in the evenings, worked side by side at the same jobs in the fields during the day; their children, as adolescents, slept in the same primitive

> quarters with the animals or the household smoke. Lastly, they shared the same literary and religious tastes.[9]

In terms of everyday life, the distinctions between farmer and peasant worker were not sharply drawn. Indeed a far sharper distinction was that between male and female.

Almost all articles necessary for subsistence and reproduction were produced within the extended home unit, which was the centre for a whole complex of productive and reproductive activities. Skills such as spinning, weaving, making clothes, shoemaking, and all the skills related to the making of food were part of the life of the household.

In short, the footloose, landless, homeless peasant labourer with nothing but his labour power to sell, and his wages as the only means of acquiring the necessaries for subsistence was the outcome of the breakdown of this society and of the household unit that went with it, as well as the great force for the development of the factory system in the towns and their future transformation. In Chapter 2 we shall refer in more detail to this process in the Borders.

The latent reserve army eventually dried up, and, with the development of imperialism, new sources of labour were sought through exploitation in other countries with large masses of agricultural population. In modern capitalism the internationalisation of capital and the growth of multinationals has imposed new locational

patterns of exploitation which escape from the limitations set by the long-term drying up of this form of reserve and by the strength of the labour movement (in terms of standards for minimum wages, working hours, safety legislation, etc.).

b. The floating form of surplus population — consisting primarily of the temporarily unemployed — exists mainly in the big centres of industry, where it is created by the unceasing rhythm of capital in attracting and repelling labour. Its make-up differs according to the stage in capitalist development. In the nineteenth century male adult workers would predominate as women were drawn into the factories to secure lower wages and less opposition by craft labour to the logic of the factory system. In modern capitalism and during the recent crisis, the young form a large part of the ranks of the unemployed.

What is important to grasp beyond these differences is the relation of the floating form of surplus population to the development of technology, and the consequent changes in the labour process. As Braverman has shown in Labor and Monopoly Capital, the needs of monopoly capital impose a progressive de-skilling of labour. In this process of de-skilling, parts of the floating reserve army which have been repelled are attracted back every time, only to be enlisted in still lower ranks and often under harsher working conditions (greater speed, intensification of production, etc.). It is, therefore, both the result and the necessary condition for the same process, namely the continuation of accumulation.

The locational distribution of the floating surplus population, and the uneven patterns of this distribution, itself an expression of capital's tendencies for concentration, can nevertheless become a hindrance to the expansion of capital. Great centres of industrial concentration tend to become the hotbeds of class struggle and of strong trade union practices. They also tend to be more expensive, as land and infrastructure can also be sources of profit.

How can you get the "new" labour you need in a location where there is elbow-room and a cooperative labour force? This would first of all necessitate some control over the regulation of the rhythm and the mobility of the floating surplus population on an extended (or national) scale. Capital cannot do this, because capital exists in the form of many competing capitals. The state fulfills this role (albeit badly) — inter alia through regional policy — for the overall benefit of capital accumulation. (But we shall come to the role of the state in the next section.)

c. The <u>stagnant surplus</u> population is made up of two sections:

i. The active population employed under conditions of great insecurity and living in a standard well below the "normal"[10] level for the working class. This makes it a reserve particularly useful for certain branches of capitalist exploitation characterised by worse conditions and low wages. It is recruited from old, decaying branches of industry and from agriculture, and it grows in proportion to the growth of a surplus population. But also

> it forms at the same time a self-reproducing self-perpetuating element of the working class, taking a proportionally greater part

> in the general increases of that class than the other elements. In fact, not only the number of births and deaths, but the absolute size of families, stands in inverse proportion to the level of wages, and therefore to the means of subsistence at disposal of the different categories of worker. [11]

ii. The "lowest sediment of the relative surplus population," which "dwells in the sphere of pauperism."[12] This is made up of those unable to work but unemployed and as a result totally impoverished, orphan and pauper children, and those who as a result of advanced age, injury or other incapacity are unable to work, or demoralized and ragged.

3. The Absolute Law of Capitalist Accumulation and the Recomposition of Labour

There are two important points to grasp, crucial to the understanding of the role of the labour reserve army:

a. That its growth is both a direct consequence and a lever for the growth of social wealth in capitalism. The greater the growth in the productivity of labour and of the absolute mass of the proletariat, the greater the relative surplus population. Marx sees in this the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation, which "like all other laws is modified in its working by many circumstances."[13]

b. That, especially in modern capitalism, the growth of the relative surplus population has been accompanied by the "recomposition" of labour, characterised by an increasing de-skilling of labour and a growing separation between mental and manual labour

leading to the expansion of new sectors, namely the service, finance and state sectors. This recomposition of labour, involves a recomposition of the reserve army as well.

This recomposition of labour, however, through the development of detailed labour, which is made possible by the application of technology and the concurrent growth of social welath, in no way negates this general law of accumulation. As Braverman writes:

> One may see the post-World War II "prosperity cycle" in accordance with Marx's absolute general law of capitalist accumulation: the immense mass of social wealth and functioning capital, the extent and energy of capital accumulation, the growth of the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productiveness of its labour, the increasing relative mass of the industrial reserve army, of the mass of consolidated surplus population and finally the misery of "official pauperism." That this is a chain in which each link presupposes the rest, and in which "accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery" at the other, may no longer be doubted.[14]

The creation and use of the reserve army goes on all the time, but at certain points in history it happens on a massive scale. During the expansion of the 1950's and 1960's the tapping of new reserves became necessary,[15] leading to the bringing of new workers from three sources:

a. Small farmers and agricultural labourers from within Britain. This movement was facilitated by the further technological transformation of agricultural production, expressed in the accelerated fall in agricultural labour, as well as the wave of closures of small

farms and take-over by bigger concerns within agriculture (often involving foreign capital — e.g. the role of Dutch and German capital in the Highlands).

b. Immigrants from underdeveloped countries (e.g. the great influx of commonwealth immigrants into Britain, employed particularly in the state and service sector).

c. Women from the native working class, especially married women.

The special composition of this surplus population, especially the immigrants and women, created new problems of work discipline and control which, as Friend and Metcalf point out, contributed to a distinct profile for metropolitan areas as they drew reserves "more from some sources than others and, therefore, used different methods to discipline them."[16] (The specific problems emerging in areas with high proportion of immigrant population are easily brought to mind here, as well as the different community development policies and practices.)

The precarious position of these recruits became apparent in the ensuing crisis of the seventies as immigrants and women were amongst the groups to be thrown on to the unemployment heap in great numbers. The upsurge in racist and sexist propaganda urging the sending of immigrants back to their own countries and of women back to the home where they belonged was a powerful additive to this swelling of the reserve ranks (and must be seen in the context of the upsurge of the "scroungers" mythology) which was directed

against the entire unemployed section of the working class.

The understanding of the dynamics of this fundamental law and its effect on population movement is of great importance to the analysis attempted in this thesis — especially to the analysis in the second part of the population mobility and size for the process of forecasting housing needs in terms of industrial development; a process based on assumptions about the labour needs of particular industries (in this case the textile industry in the Borders) in the course of their growth and restructuring. As we shall try to show, these calculations, by failing to understand the specific form of the laws governing population mobility within capitalist social relations, did not understand the particular labour profile of the Borders, which was both a creation of and a necessity for the local textile industry.

But there is an added dimension to this problem: from the short exposition of the essentials of this law above, it follows that when we consider reproduction of labour power in particular (both in its physical and its social aspects), we are dealing not only with this process as it affects the active part of labour in regular employment, but also with the reproduction of the necessary reserves. This is what the notion of a "pool of labour" implies after all: a reserve from which local capital and/or incoming capital can choose (and of which it is hoped that it will not remain static, but grow in size).

The reproduction of labour (both in its active and reserve forms) develops over time, especially in areas isolated from the great centres of population, specific forms based on evolving local social practices, many of which have their origin long before the capitalist mode of production became the dominant one and revolutionised social relations. Classic examples, to be found everywhere, are the family and practices based on the sexual division of labour and the principles of patriarchy, and the church (though to a lesser extent). The more isolated an area is, the more the local practices of reproduction, especially of social relations, become specific and, to a certain extent, ossified. This is what is at the heart of what is described as "the Border way of life," for the preservation of which so many strong fears were expressed, in the face of a threat of a population influx into the Borders.

As we shall see, the state attempts to regulate the distribution of labour power, including the spreading of the reserve army into "development areas" in the general effort to assist the accumulation and restructuring of capital. In doing so, it uses known agents of reproduction, especially the family.

The particular importance ascribed to families and to the role of women, both as forming a large part of the wage labour (in its active and reserve form) and as performing the basic functions of physical and social reproduction, calls for special elaboration. This is reinforced by the importance of the home as the centre for a large circle of these reproductive activities.

4. The Role of Women in Reproduction — Women as Part of the Stagnant Reserve Army of Labour

The question of women's role in reproduction (especially in the form of domestic labour) and its relation to the direct exploitation of female labour power in production has been at the heart of Marxist-feminist debates. Moreover, the increasing role of the state in reproduction, and more specifically the reproduction of labour power has brought to light the specific ways in which bourgeois forms of social relations are also being reproduced through the family and by specific state practices. The analysis of the experience of women as the usual clients at the receiving end of the Welfare State (council housing, health, child care, education, social work) has offered insights valuable for understanding the state's role in the reproduction of the social relations of exploitation. [17]

A comprehensive critical presentation of these positions goes beyond the scope of this chapter and of the thesis, although we shall refer to the question of the state and reproduction in more detail in the next section of this chapter. Without reference to the category of domestic labour, though, along with female wage labour, and their different importance for capital accumulation, we cannot reach an adequate understanding of the useful attributes for capital of female labour power and the female reserve army of labour (especially in its stagnant form), as well as of the contradictions involved.

Domestic labour is essential for the reproduction of labour power as a commodity both on a day-to-day basis and in the long run. It is essential not only for the physical aspects of reproduction but also for the reproduction of bourgeois social relations.

In performing this unpaid labour women contribute to the lowering of the value of male labour power, thus offering a great service to capital, and to the preservation — and even further strengthening — of bourgeois values through the form of nuclear family predominant in capitalism.

The attraction of women to the sphere of production brings to the fore the exploitation of women as wage labour and the advantages reaped by capital in this case: i.e. lower wages, less militancy, de-skilling.

This double exploitation of women as both wage labour and domestic labour is, however, full of contradictions, especially in the case of married women and mothers:

a. It exhausts women physically and mentally and creates stresses which affect the assumed balance of interpersonal relations within the family.

b. Although women are far less able to unionise and take active part in day-to-day struggles due to their domestic work and often patriarchical attitude, by male workers (husbands and/ or fellow workers) their experience on the shop floor and their earning power do contribute to their increased awareness of their exploitation, and given the particular historical moments may even lead to female labour militancy.

Indeed, the role played by women in struggles within the factory as well as the housing scheme has often been underestimated or even has remained unknown all together.[18]

c. When we consider problems of labour mobility the subordination of women within the family may become a hazard for capital, especially if there is a shortage of locally available female labour power. Industries which depend on female wage labour have an interest in attracting women to their area, but given the importance of the family this may prove difficult in places where there are no jobs available for male workers. Moreover, the establishment of family needs as a yardstick for certain crucial social services adds to these difficulties — a good example is the predominance of large, family type council housing and the lack of housing for single people.

Apart from their importance in performing wage labour and domestic labour women, especially married women, form — increasingly in modern capitalism — an important source of the industrial reserve army, especially in its stagnant form. In periods of heightened accumulation they are drawn from their homes to join the ranks of active wage labour, with all the advantages for capital already briefly mentioned. Also, they are usually enlisted either within the less technologically advanced spheres of production (e.g. services) or within those spheres where the further introduction of technology brings about a de-skilling of labour — e.g. manufacturing of components of the electronics industry.[19]

In periods of crisis and increased unemployment they are sent back into their "domain" where they continue with domestic labour and do not even place a burden on state social services as they do not usually sign on for unemployment benefits. Moreover, they may

continue to perform wage labour at home and with worse conditions of exploitation than in the factory. (Such is the case of women doing knitting or other handicraft work at home, at very low rates and claiming no benefits, having no employment rights, etc., etc..)

The problems involved in trying to attract female population to act both as active labour and a local reserve army of labour will be discussed more concretely in relation to the Borders and the textile industry further on in this thesis. For the purposes of this chapter we have only briefly touched upon some general aspects of female wage and domestic labour, its importance for capital and the contradictions involved in combining these two forms of labour within one person. These contradictions are becoming increasingly acute, given also the increased — albeit still by far undeveloped — awareness of women and the impact of the feminist-socialist movement. Veronica Beechey raises a very interesting question in the light of these contradictions:

> Could it be that, just as the attempts to increase absolute surplus value in the nineteenth century by inordinately extending the working day foundered upon the physical condition of the working class, so the tendencies both to bring women under the direct domination of capital as wage labourers and also to maintain them in the family as domestic labourers in order to extract a high rate of surplus value is beginning to founder on the impossibility of maintaining the family in its present form, and of combining within the woman two vital forms of labour for the capitalist mode of production? [20]

III. The Role of the State in Reproduction

1. In Modern Capitalism the state takes an active part in both the production and the reproduction of capital and of the fundamental capital-labour relation.

There are certain basic notions developed within the ongoing debate on the theory of the state which have been of particular value for an understanding of the relationship between housing and employment in the Borders (i.e., of a specific empirical case) and which run through the thesis, especially in the treatment of the second part.

- The capitalist state is an historically determined form of the fundamental relations of exploitation within the capitalist mode of production.

- Its primary role is continually to reproduce the conditions within which capitalist accumulation can take place. This involves both taking a direct part in production and ensuring the reproduction of the basic conditions of production, including the reproduction of labour-power. Increasingly, however, in modern capitalism, the state's fulfillment of this role is conditioned by the needs and dictates of monopoly capital, which is the dominant form of capital.

- In performing this role, the state follows certain methods and procedures which reinforce the bourgeois relations

of domination; in other words, it is not only through what it does but also through how it does it that the state helps to reproduce the fundamental capital-labour relation.

— State action involves contradictions imposed upon it by the contradictions inherent in capital accumulation which set limitations upon it. Furthermore, in performing its fundamental role, the state is far from being free from the anarchy which rules in the sphere of competition. On the contrary, it often reflects this competition within its own apparatus.

The fundamental relation of exploitation between capital and wage labour presupposes the appearance of the economic and the political as two separate spheres. The essential characteristic of this relation is that it appears, mediated by the market, as a transaction between two free agents, over the sale of the commodity labour power. This appearance of freedom and equality essential to capitalism necessitates a separation between productive activity and compulsion. Moreover, capital, as it exists in the form of many competing capitals, cannot provide the overview necessary for its existence in the long run. The state thus assumes the appearance of neutrality vis-a-vis the class struggle and of overseer of the interests of capital in general, expressed as the interests of society as a whole.

The state, therefore, by its very appearance as a neutral force, exercising compulsion in the name of all society, conceals class

struggle and the unequal relation of exploitation at the production level:

> This abstraction of relations of force from the immediate process of production and their necessary location (since class domination must ultimately rest in force) in an instance separated from individual capitals, constitutes (historically and logically) the economic and the political as distinct particularised forms of capitalist domination. This particularisation of the two forms of domination finds its institutional expression in the state apparatus as an apparently autonomous entity. It also finds expression in the separation of the individual's relation to the state from his immediate relation to capital, in the separation of the worker into worker and citizen, in the separation of his struggle into "economic struggle and political struggle." [21]

There are a number of points to be stressed here. Firstly, it is essential to understand that this "separation," like the fundamental relation between capital and labour, is not given once and for all, but its reproduction, and consequently the survival of capital as well as of the state, is the outcome of ongoing class struggle and the degree of success with which capital and the state can reconstruct and reimpose the form of social relations which conceals its real nature of exploitation. Indeed time and again the state's walls of neutrality become transparent.

Secondly, this separation has also a useful side in terms of crude politics. Capital can blame many of the results of its inherent contradictions on the inefficiency of the state. By setting up the political sphere as a separate, autonomous space, it thus diffuses struggle and may even appear as sharing dissatisfaction with the workers against the stranglehold of political institutions and bureaucratic procedures. [22]

But the state too uses this separation and freedom from the dictates of specific capitals. Indeed there are many ways in which it capitalises on its "neutrality": in times of opposition to state action (as in the case of compulsory acquisition of land for Tweedbank development), the state appears as the representative of the larger community, striving for the good of "all" against selfish members of that community, who are trying to block progress in the name of their own private property interests. But it is in line with the bourgeois state's appearance of "generality" that at any time it can clash not only with the working class but, also, with the interests of specific capitals, or groups of capitals. Because ultimately the state's role is to ensure reproduction of capitalist social relations as a whole.

In fulfilling this role, the state cannot interfere with the process of immediate production and alter it. On the contrary; the basic capital-labour relation, as well as private property and free wage labour are already guaranteed where state action begins. Its primary function is to guarantee the general and external conditions of reproduction. These conditions, are either too expensive or not profitable enough, or of such a scale that it is not possible for individual capitals to provide them.

The state's own material base, also, rests precisely upon guaranteeing accumulation, i.e., extended reproduction of capital (revenues).

> This will necessarily manifest itself as the specifically political and bureaucratic interest of the direct holders of state

> power and their agents in the safeguarding of capital reproduction and capital relations. This is why the bourgeois state must function as a class state even when the ruling class or a section of it does not exert direct influence over it.[23]

Given the existence of capital as many capitals torn by competition and bound by the necessity of the process of (competitive) valorisation (expressed in the necessity for ensuring profits), the state apparatus, by being removed from this process and possessing means of exercising force, appears to be the one able to produce the general conditions of production (infrastructure). However, in fulfilling this function:

a. The State provides the general conditions of production as they vary in their historical determination. That is, what forms these conditions take vary according to the development of the productive forces and the contradictions inherent in this process. J. Hirsch[24] gives a very good exposition of the widening sphere of infrastructure (i.e. external and general conditions to be provided, or at any rate guaranteed by the State), which is inherent in the process of accumulation and the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, as well as the triggering of the countertendencies by capital and by the State. Thus, for example, the dependence on technological innovation and the application of science for increasing the productivity of labour, acquires such a scale that it becomes necessary for the state to support industries which produce the technologically advanced means of production (e.g. electronics). Thus the promotion

of science and technology becomes, in late capitalism, a general condition of production. The same applies to the protection of the very natural base for production which is being destroyed in the process of accumulation, which makes the protection of natural resources and the environment necessary. Similarly, given the dependence of capital on the existence of a relative surplus population for accumulation and technological transformation, the drying up of certain forms of surplus population and the effects of the worldwide exploitation of labour resources by monopoly capital, labour power too becomes one of the general conditions of production to be reproduced by the State.

b. The State apparatus itself reflects the process prevailing within production, namely competitive valorisation:

> That is, the concrete activities and measures of the state come into being not as the result of the abstract logic of a given social structure or of an objectively given historical process of development but only under the pressure of political movements and interests which, acting on this basis, actually succeed in pressing home their demands. The state's particularisation has continually to re-establish itself afresh and maintain itself in this process of conflict and collision of interests.[25]

So far from being a coherent whole, the product of some abstract and general logic of capital, the state apparatus is the product of the conflicts and contradictions inherent in competitive valorisation:

> Not least of the consequences of this is the imperfection incompleteness and inconsistency of state activity, but also at the same time the relative contingency of the political process, a contingency which cannot be derived from the general determinations of the capital relation.[26]

State intervention in the Borders, the industrial development proposals, Tweedbank development in particular and the conflicts and inconsistencies around the issues concerning the economic regeneration of the Borders, are, as we shall see, a useful example of the "relative contingency of the political process."

2. Monopoly Capital and State Action In the process of reproduction.

Although not directly bound to specific capitals or groups of capital, state action is, nevertheless, conditioned to a large extent by the development of monopoly capital, which, being the dominant form in modern capitalism, creates the conditions for state intervention, specific to the stage of capitalist development referred to by Mandel as Late Capitalism, while at the same time, aggravating the contradictions inherent in the process of competitive valorisation. On the level of state action this finds expression in the "fiscal crisis of the State." O'Connors' work adds a further dimension, here, to our understanding of the role and the problematic of the State in reproduction.

In his book, The Fiscal Crisis of the State, he puts forward the basic thesis that the growth of the state is both the cause and

the effect of the expansion of monopoly capital, which ultimately expresses the increasing social character of production. In this process the development socialisation of costs of both constant and variable capital increasingly becomes necessary for profitable accumulation.[27] As a result, as we have mentioned already, the scale of these costs becomes so large that it is either impossible, or at any rate, unprofitable, for capital to carry the burden. At the same time, the growth of monopoly capital brings with it unemployment, poverty, economic stagnation, destruction of the environment.

The state takes active part both in the socialisation of costs of production and in the mopping up of the social consequences of monopoly capital growth. Consequently, state expenditure falls in two parts: á. Social capital, which includes social investment (constant capital) as well as social consumption (variable capital); and b. Social expenditure, which is "unproductive" in the sense that no surplus value is extracted, but necessary all the same for the reproduction not only of labour power, but of the basic capital-labour relation of exploitation and the maintenance of social harmony (Welfare System).

The accumulation of social capital and social expenses is problematic, because although costs are socialised, private appropriation of profits continues, and there is pressure on the state coming from industry, especially during times of crisis, to cut down on "unproductive" expenditure and to direct more of its resources

(which are essentially socialised surplus value coming to the state in the form of revenues), towards productive consumption. This creates a structural gap between state expenditure and state revenue, which is at the heart of the fiscal crisis of the state. This crisis is exacerbated by the appropriation of state power for particular ends:

> Precisely because the accumulation of social capital and social expenses occurs within the political framework there is a great deal of waste, duplication and overlapping of state projects and services. . . . The accumulation of social capital and social expenses is a highly irrational process from the standpoint of administrative coherence, fiscal stability and potentially profitable private accumulation. [28]

In his Anatomy of American State Capitalism O'Connor argues that increasingly the competitive sector dominated by small competitive capital is represented on the State (within the Federal system) and local level, while the monopolies are represented on the federal level; and he comments on the increasing growth of central state intervention on the local level:

> Far more ominous from the standpoint of small business and other local and parochial interests (not to speak of community insurgency movements) is the usurpation of local political and budgetary power by the "national state" — a trend that is well advanced in developed capitalist societies. [29]

The growth of central state control over the local level conditioned in many instances by the patterns of social organisation created by monopoly capital expansion, has been commented upon within discussions on regional policy in Britain (see S. Holland

Capital versus the Regions, and Dorreen Massey in Chapter 4 of this thesis) as well as discussions concerning the reorganisation of local government in 1974. (Cf. J. Dearlove: The reorganisation of Local Government.)

In the process of this research it became evident that the kind of industry which could be both able and interested to move in the Borders was, most likely a branch of a big monopoly in the growth sectors of manufacturing industry (and, as we shall see, evidence on the industry which did come validates this assumption). The whole treatment of what was necessary for economic development in the Borders was biased towards monopoly capital.

Furthermore, the contradictions inherent in the relations between local government and central government over key issues concerning the financing of local services became apparent within questions of priority in financing the Tweedbank development while axing local housing programmes.

These contradictions are part of the problematic nature of local government: while it is part of the state, implementing general state policy, it is at the same time a vehicle for local democracy and carries with it a certain degree of autonomy towards the central state.

As the provider of a complex of services and the point of contact on a daily basis between the state and the citizens, local government plays a paramount role in the reproduction of labour power in both the physical and ideological sense.

Indeed it is at the local level that the significance of the state in the reproduction of bourgeois social relations is more evident in its twinfold way:

a. Through the treatment of people as "clients," as "citizens," which projects an equality on the political level and the everyday contact with the state, thus obscuring class inequalities based on the fundamental relation of exploitation; and

b. Through defining existing inequalities and conflicts in terms which both abstract further from the basis of inequality, by avoiding the class issue, and structure conflict along divisions which do not threaten the relations of production and exploitation. And so:

> Exploitation is presupposed before bourgeois politics even begins. Conflicts within the confines of bourgeois politics concern only the structure of social relations to be built on top of exploitation; the conflicts may be important but they never raise the fundamental question of class exploitation itself. [30]

Struggles over the provision of services on the local level are therefore very important, not only because they represent actual gains or losses for better living conditions, but, also, because the fundamental forms of bourgeois relations are being reinforced in the incessant, everyday contact between "citizens" and the state. This is, however, by no means a rigid and unproblematic imposition of ideology. On the contrary, it is an ongoing struggle where bourgeois forms of

relations are threatened, occassionally broken down and reimposed through state action on the local level. This is, of course, not the only instance or oppositional space, for this struggle — the breakdown and reimposition of such forms takes place within the production process as well, on the level of central government, or within the family. Local government is, nevertheless, very important, especially as in Britain a big part of reproductive activity comes under its wing.

The contradictions involved in the role of local government often appear as a disjunction within the state apparatus, creating conflicts between parts of it, especially between local government and parts of the central state bureaucracy. Such conflicts, some of which have been protracted and have had national appeal (e.g. Clay Cross), appear in the form of the question of control from central government over local Government action. The most powerful means of such control is finance. The increasing dependence of local government on the central government's financial support system has proved to be a tight noose around the former's neck, especially after the imposition of cash limits in the late seventies.

But apart from financial control, there has also been a growth of institutions, directly linked to the central state bureaucracy, acting "alongside" and sometimes in aid of local authorities. Such institutions do often represent direct central state intervention on the local level and may get involved into conflicts with entrenched local interests. Planning development boards, the Scottish Development Agency, the Scottish Special Housing Association

in the field of housing are some examples.

To link local government with small competitive capital and central government with monopoly capital interests may lead to a rigid simplification which fails to take into account, precisely, the "form" of the state as we have briefly described it above, which may well involve state action directed against the power of certain monopoly capitals in the interests of accumulation generally. Moreover, it fails to recognise that on the local level, industrial competitive capital is only one form of capital, and other forms, especially landed capital, may well play a role and conflict with industrial capital interests within the same area. Indeed, if capital is not a unified entity, neither is the ruling class, and the whole question of fractions within it corresponding to fractions of capital has been an important issue in Marxist debates over capital and the state.[31]

The case of the Borders is perhaps a useful one for the question of fractions of capital and the state, as it became clear that industrial capital and landed capital within the region reacted differently to state intervention, although, in principle, they were in agreement about the necessity for such action. But as we shall see, while there is no doubt that different interest groups hold different sway within the state bureaucracy, and intervention in the Borders did appear to be partly a response to the needs of the local textile industry for labour, the State's response depended ultimately on the importance of the local textile industry and the Border Economy for overall expansion and restructuring of capital on

a national level. Nevertheless, to deny the importance of the different power of local interest groups, representing different fractions of local capital, is to deny the very historical development of the state apparatus and the "relative contingency" of state action, reflecting the contradictions and anarchy within the organisation of production according to the principles of competitive valorisation (cf. earlier, p.37).[32]

The presence of the state on the local level in its bureaucratic form, its rules and particular ethic and management techniques, reinforce the contradictory character of local government. While claiming a certain degree of autonomy and neutrality, at the same time, it is often experienced as oppressive by the very people it is there to serve as "free citizens," and may even be associated with certain interests against others.

Such conflicts, however, for all their apparent importance are at the same time not posing the fundamental question of class exploitation — indeed they help obscure the basic capital-labour relation.

Finally, the redefinition of class issues into the interest group issues is reinforced by the form of bureaucratic procedures, and the restatement of what are essentially class issues into problems of administrative or purely technical matters and procedure.[33]

As we shall see in Chapter 4 of this thesis, the ways of defining the problem from the onset, the rules of the public inquiry procedure,

the treatment of objectors as individual interest holders, or groups of individuals united by common interests — but definitely not as members of the local ruling classes, determined, to a large extent, the issues around which debate took place, leaving the fundamental questions of labour exploitation within the region basically untouched.

IV. Housing, the Reproduction of Labour Power and the State

1. Housing and the Development of Modern Industry

Housing is a commodity important for the reproduction of labour power. This is a statement often quoted in Marxist discussions about housing; it signifies a form of social relations concerning the provision of shelter specific to the capitalist mode of production. Of course, shelter is important for all human societies at all times and for all modes of production. Indeed, different types of housing, its spatial organisation, architectural form, internal arrangement of space and many more, have developed within different forms of social organisation (different modes of production), reflecting a whole complex of conditions, from the climatic to the inhabitants of particular tastes. (Consider an igloo, a Mongolian tent, a traditional house on the island of Corfu and a high-rise in Glasgow.) Fascinating though it may be, we are not directly concerned here with an account, let alone an analysis of such forms within a broad cross-cultural historical journey. We could not even offer such an account of changing housing form within British capitalism, although we fully acknowledge the importance of the emergence of different forms of housing within the development of the capitalist mode of production, from its early days to its present stage of monopoly capitalism.

Nevertheless, the subject matter of this thesis which is the relation between housing and employment as manifested calls for the consideration (albeit brief) of the different forms the relation took

within different historical "moments" (within the Borders, too) and the manifestations of this relation on changing housing tenure, appearance, spatial organisation, etc.

During the early days of the development of the capitalist mode of production, and before it had become the dominant one, reproductive activity had not been separated from productive activity to the extent that it did later on, and this unity of productive and reproductive activity was also reflected in housing. The household was the centre of a complex of activities, in a predominantly rural society. Much was produced within its world for the immediate consumption of its members. Rent was paid partly in cash and partly in kind (similarly with wages) in the form of either produce handed to the landlord or free labour performed for him. Within the rural towns tenure stratification reflected the productive capacity of the inhabitant and determined the rent: in the history of Old Galashiels there is reference to the prevailing categorisation up until at least the end of the seventeenth century, according to the size of yard and number of animals.[34] Outside the towns, in the farm unit a whole cluster of cottages and bothies surrounded the "but and ben," where servants shared space with the tenant farmer and all shared in the productive activities for the household's consumption. The extended family was the cell for social organisation with an extended kinship network.[35]

With the introduction and expansion of the factory system in the nineteenth century and the further dependence of workers on wage

labour for their subsistence, the pattern of housing, including tenure, building type and spatial concentration changed. This, however, did not happen over a short period of time. Long after the industrial revolution and the development of the textile industry, the parallel existence of the domestic system of production was combined with the survival of older forms of household organisation, especially in producing for immediate consumption (food and an amount of clothing).

In quantitative terms, it was not until the big influx of population from the surrounding countryside into the towns that the provision of housing became a problem, and also was directly associated with labour power as a commodity. As we shall see in Chapter 2 with the development and subsequent take-over of other areas of social organisation (e.g. the family) by the system of generalised commodity production, the household lost its unity of productive and reproductive activity. This increasing separation between the spheres of production and reproduction — an ongoing process characteristic of the development of capitalism — has gone hand in hand with the growing intervention and take-over of the sphere of reproduction by the state. Especially in the post-war period, this has had a big impact on the provision of housing in general and housing for labour more specifically.

During the nineteenth century the problem of housing workers in rural areas was handled in three basic ways: At first the employers had to provide their own accommodation for their workers, which to

begin with, meant overcrowding in old mills, and eventually houses built by the employers and rented to the workers. In towns like Hawick and Galashiels, and in rural areas where the industry had to create a built environment from scratch (e.g. Walkerburn), housing the working class was a burden that industrial capital had to undertake in the absence of rentiers and initial strong interest by the local bourgeoisie and middle classes. Towards the second half of the nineteenth century, however, within the main industrial towns housing for the workers was provided by the local "urban bourgeoisie" [36] made up of a collection of small shopkeepers, artisans, builders, etc.

Alongside with the provision of housing for rent, and with the development of the cooperative movement, workers' owner occupation became an important element of the housing scene (especially in Hawick), a trend much encouraged by the employers who saw in it the benefits from both a financial and an ideological point of view.

Indeed the importance of workers' owner occupation for the reproduction of labour power was fully recognised in its manifold significance:

Firstly, it was very important for the degree of mobility of labour, or rather the restraining of it. Where an industry (like textiles in the Borders), depended heavily on skilled labour, and being far out from large centers of population concentration had no direct and easy access to the floating relative surplus population. Given the rules prevailing in building societies at the time and the

absence of the state's involvement, selling your house and finding similar loan facilities elsewhere to buy another was hardly contemplated.

Secondly, and most importantly too, the standard of housing affected the "moral standard" of the local working class.

From the standpoint of local capital, therefore, housing and the use value of specific tenures, played a big role in the reproduction of labour power: It affected labour mobility and secured to a certain extent the local supply of a relative surplus population, of which the women formed a big part used within the system of domestic production which survived within the nineteenth century, once the latent form of it had more or less dried up. Moreover, housing as the locus of the family played a significant role not only in the physical reproduction of labour, but in the reproduction of local forms of social relations as well.

With the attraction of women to the factory, female participation in the production process — now separated from the home — and women's role in reproduction of labour power within the home often became problematic.

This dual role of female labour as wage labour and domestic labour, and the great extent of using female labour within the factory had a big impact both on life at home and social relations within the factory, as we have already pointed out earlier in this chapter.

The home, by being the locus of family relations, was also the locus of the dominant form within such relations, namely of patriarchy. Of course, patriarchical forms of relations did not only exist within the confines of the home but, especially in the closer knit pre-capitalist society, together with religion, permeated the whole complex of social living (cf. Chapter 2). Capital in many ways found a useful ally in Patriarchy. Some of its practices as they extended to the shop floor, made for a more obedient labour force. Later on, however, in the 1950's and 1960's, this ally would assert his more contradictory aspects, by tying up the mobility of women to that of men and making the employment of males a necessary condition for the procuring of cheap, obedient female labour.[37] Moreover, the very breakdown of the family pattern endangered reproductive activity as mothers were not there full-time for the upbringing of children and reproductive activity (food, cleaning, etc.), and became problematic for capital, especially as with the disappearance of the extended faily other women were not part of the household, ready to offer their services (grandmothers and spinster aunts are still offering a valuable service in this field in less developed capitalist countries).

From the above short exposition, we can see that for the study of housing in relation to employment we need more than calculating techniques for population forecasting, matching numbers of people to numbers of houses with a sprinkling of expectations on standards on top. We need a theoretically informed understanding of the process of accumulation and reproduction of labour power within its historical dynamic and empirical specificity in space and time. Furthermore,

this implies that we need an understanding of the mechanisms of the production and distribution processes for the commodity housing, because methods of production as well as provision, i.e. distribution, standards, even architectural forms, spatial concentration patterns of housing, are ultimately determined by the commodity form. In a system of generalised commodity production, houses are not just produced for their use value. They must be produced at a profit. Moreover, their use value is different for the capitalist than it is for the worker in many significant ways.[38] Therefore, the question what determines housing need does not directly lead to how and by whom housing is to be produced, and in what form.

Moreover, housing is not the only commodity important for the reproduction of labour power (food, clothing, entertainment are too). However, its special characteristics make it both a very important one, because it is at the same time the space within which other reproductive activity takes place and the basis for the family in capitalism, as well as being important ideologically due to its relation to private property. It is, of course, a very expensive commodity, as well, and with a long life span which allows for its continuation in existence even after consumption (realisation of its use value). This latter characteristic has made possible the creation of a whole legal edifice of property and use rights which further mystifies and conceals the fundamental relation between capital and labour which ultimately determines the character of housing as an important commodity for labour power, and its significance for the value of labour power.

Briefly, the cost of housing reflects primarily:

a. The price of land upon which it is built — given the existing system of land ownership;

b. The level of productivity of labour and other problems relating to the building industry;

c. The cost of materials and problems in getting supplies (such problems add to the price of materials in far-off rural areas with prevailing bad climatic conditions).

Historically, the rising price of land in the big urban centres has contributed to the withdrawal of capital from building for the working classes and concentrating on more profitable building such as office blocks, given the higher rents they could extract. Also, the "urban bourgeoisie" has eventually withdrawn from the provision of housing for the working class in a big way as it became unprofitable due to a combination of rising costs on the one hand and restrictions on rent, standards, etc. imposed by the state under working class pressure and in the interests of producing a healthy proletariat.

As regards the building industry, a host of problems has made the production of working class housing problematic and unprofitable: the predominance of small craft-based units in a highly labour intensive industry has made the introduction of technology and processes which raise the productivity of labour a very slow process. Moreover by their nature, houses are commodities which take long before they are sold and profits are realised. Although the role of building societies has considerably helped towards quick realisation of profit

by offering loan finance for house purchasing, the problems inherent in the low productivity rate still persist. Only in big firms, covering a wide range of building activity and controlling to a certain extent the productionof components, and within state-financed organisations have these problems been less crippling.

2. Housing Provision by the State

The role of the State in aiding overall accumulation and in taking on a big part of the burden of reproduction has already been discussed earlier in this chapter. Within the field of reproduction of labour in particular, the role of the State in housing has been of paramount importance.

State housing in Britain, the various lines of development, the struggles around housing, the ideological significance of tenures, these and many more form a highly complicated empirical complex. Attempts at a theoretical analysis have been made, within the Marxist tradition starting with Engels and Marx. Nevertheless, it still remains a highly complicated problematic area. Within the scope of this thesis we cannot even try to develop such a general theoretical framework. Nevertheless, the understanding of the role of the state in reproduction, as well as theoretical work developed around housing issues per se have been a great help.

Here we shall be concentrating on the elaboration of a number of points relating to state provision of housing, which we feel are important for the subject matter of the thesis.

The State does not usually produce working class housing directly. Although some direct labour departments have existed, they have never been allowed to develop. As regards the actual production of houses, therefore, private capital has always been the major actor, and the State, to be precise, local government, has largely depended on private industry for the building of houses. The initial undertaking of the responsibility to provide working class housing, in 1915, was the outcome of class struggle, indeed of a combination of working class riots and pressure, as well as an assertion of the State's role in aiding overall accumulation, even if this involved going against the interests of parts of the bourgeoisie or in this case the rentier class. [39]

It is essential to grasp the dynamic of this process of successfully pressing demands upon the State. As evidence shows, the importance of healthy housing for the working man (the backbone of society) had been recognised, in all its economic and political significance (reports at the time speak openly of the danger of Bolshevism and the role of squalid conditions in housing in inciting workers' political unrest). Nevertheless, the actual turning point and the acceptance of responsibility by the state in this sphere did not come about until it had to, pushed by working class action, and it took place against the express will of sections of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, what was definitely a gain for the working class, was not a total gain, because it was not a total loss to capital. Indeed, capital benefited by state housing, in passing a big burden of reproduction onto the state while provision of cheaper housing did contribute in keeping the value of labour power lower than it would be if workers

had to pay for more expensive housing. In the historical development of state housing, we must take into consideration the evolving of accepted standards in housing as well (the cultural element in the value of labour power), which makes it even more difficult for capital to procure a drop in housing standards below certain levels. Nevertheless, over the post-war period, state housing has reflected the efforts by the bourgeoisie to lower working class standards, thus limiting unproductive consumption. The emergence of the state apparatus relating to the provision of housing is a concrete witness of struggles around housing as well as the state's restructuring in the face of crisis, and a good example of what J. Hirsch calls "the relative contingency of the state apparatus and state action" (referred to earlier in this chapter, section on the state form and state apparatus). Consequently, the development of council housing, itself a product of class struggle and the role of the state in reproduction, is not only a source of relatively cheap and of reasonable standard housing for the working class, it is also a very important service for capital for the reproduction of labour power. Furthermore, by regulating the distribution of housing and establishing certain forms of social relations in the way working class tenants relate to the state bureaucracy, bourgeois forms of social relations are being constantly reproduced.[40]

3. Different Tenures and the State

Within the post-war period State involvement in housing has included not only council housing, but the support of the private

market through increasing support for owner occupation, and the increasing control of the rented sector. The historical development of the different tenures, together with the more recent emergence of new forms like housing associations and cooperatives is an important study in itself. With the danger, inherent in all sweeping statements, of oversimplification, we can say that the major trend in the post-war period of state involvement in housing has been the increasing support for owner-occupation as the tenure closest to human natural desire for private property. This trend has been manifested also in the increasing financial support by the state for owner occupation, in the form of tax concessions and local authority loans to prospective buyers, as well as support to building societies (especially during the crisis of the mid-seventies, helping them to keep their lending rates down and their loan availability up).

On the other end of the spectrum, the state has assumed the responsiblity to house these sections of the working class for whom buying is out of the question, including, of course, a large part of the stagnant relative surplus population. In this sphere, state housing offers more than one kind of service to capital and the ruling classes: not only does it undertake the burden of what is an unprofitable yet necessary commodity for capital to produce, or at any rate finance, but it creates a network of control, geographically as well as socially, of that part of the stagnant surplus population which verges onto pauperism. The maintenance of this section of

the working class is not, of course, accomplished through housing alone, but through the whole complex of services and benefits offered by the Welfare State.

Finally, for the purposes of the thesis, we would like to concentrate on two aspects of state housing, which we feel are particularly important in the relation between housing and employment:

a. The direct provision of housing by the state as part of the general conditions of production; and

b. The role of state housing in the mobility of labour.

As we have mentioned earlier in this chapter, in late capitalism labour power becomes in itself one of the general conditions of production to be provided by the State. This is particularly true in areas away from centres of accumulation and big concentration of population. In such areas (and the Borders are such an area), local capital is doubly benefited by the provision of housing for labour by the State: the availability of housing affects the mobility of labour, and together with other state benefits and subsidies contributes to the procuring of a locally-based relative surplus population, as workers would be less reluctant to move away, when they become unemployed, if they had no means of survival. In theory, council housing should aid mobility. In practice, however, long waiting lists for council housing, residential requirements for the placement on the waiting list, and last but not least, influence

exerted by local political interests on housebuilding expenditure by the local council, all combine to make the provision by local authorities of housing and the allocation of council housing, by no means a simple matter, and a hindrance to mobility.[41]

The State responds by establishing special priority rules for key and incoming workers, and by building directly houses for incoming workers. In Scotland this last responsibility has been undertaken by the Scottish Special Housing Association, an organisation directly controlled by the Central State bureaucracy, and accountable to it, responsible for building the houses but not for the provision of the necessary infrastructural services that go with them.

A brief examination of the Association's history and development reveals great flexibility in action and in organisation. Its ability to rationalise, expand into new methods of production through the application of technology and the use and retraining of unskilled labour can be paralleled only to that of big firms like Wimpey. At the same time it enjoys an independence from local political pressures which gives it a freedom of action impossible for local authority housing departments.

Given the above characteristics, the SSHA was no doubt the most suitable organisation for building houses in the Borders for workers who were not there and who might not arrive after all. When the development plans proved to be a non-starter, the SSHA would withdraw, used now for inner city development in Glasgow, with an ease which would have been impossible for a local council.

To sum up, our theoretical understanding of the concrete manifestations of the relation between housing and employment in the Border region is based upon the importance of the commodity housing for the reproduction of labour power, especially as it is mediated by State action in the field of the reproduction of labour power in general, and more specifically where labour power becomes one of the general conditions of production to be provided by the State.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN RELATION TO POPULATION MOVEMENTS AND HOUSING

The Development of the Textile Industry in Relation to Population Movements and Housing

Introductory Remarks

In the 1760's there were no roads suitable for carts in the Scottish Borders, so goods had to be carried in sacks on the backs of horses. During the winter even these tracks often became impassable, thus rendering communications with the world outside the Borders impossible. As late as 1766 Hawick, already developing a promising carpet industry, had no post office, all such services being performed privately or by hawkers. Banking and credit facilities were not available locally. Mobility of labour was highly restricted by the guilds and production took place within the home, primarily for the consumption of the household. In housing, the one-room thatched cottage predominated, and was the main form of housing for the majority of the population. The household, apart from being the center for a whole range of productive and reproductive activity — including, of course, textile skills — served also as the criterion for the amount of rent — in cash and in kind — paid to the feudal superior and landlord. [1]

The local textile industry was in its very first stages of development depending entirely on hand operated machines and simple, often heavy and awkward to use tools. The locally produced, heavily tarred wool was suitable only for the production of coarse woollens. Although a few workshops existed (especially in weaving), most work was carried out at home (a trend which continued well into the

nineteenth century after the textile industry had developed into a world famous, quality goods, industry.

By the 1830's the factory system had been established, especially in Galashiels and Selkirk in the woollen industry, absorbing a large number of agricultural workers. They were men and women uprooted by the agricultural revolution and the decline of the linen industry in the area, who flocked into the towns attracted by the developing textile industry. For their survival they depended solely upon their traditional skills, now performed as wage labour.

The eventual break-up of the guilds and the relaxation of entry rules and apprenticeship conditions facilitated further the mobility of labour to the benefit of the local textile industry.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Border textile industry, especially its woollen branch based in Galashiels, Selkirk and Walkerburn had become famous all over the western world for its high quality uniquely designed products. Local services had improved considerably, together with the environment in the main industrial towns, primarily under the impetus of advancing industrialisation and the interests of the local bourgeoisie. Skilled labour was in short supply, despite the initial population explosion due primarily to inward migration. Much was blamed on the lack of good housing for skilled workers, and although employers often had to build houses for their workers there was great encouragement locally for workers building their own homes. Living standards were good, wages high, but so was the cost of living, especially prices of foodstuff and rent.

Nevertheless, in the midst of all these changes, alongside with the introduction of new power driven and more sophisticated machinery, a lot of the older practices persevered. Even in the mid-nineteenth century a considerable amount of labour was still performed at home — especially hand spinning, where female labour predominated and stocking-making at Hawick, where the men worked on the frame and the women did the finishing work (seaming, sewing up, etc.). The basic relation between employer and employee and the character of labour was, however, fundamentally changed. For this was no production for the needs of the immediate household, but wage labour performed for the production of commodities to be sold in the market, under the control and according to the orders of the local capitalist. He provided the workers with the basic raw materials, while paying low rates and charging rent for the frame besides. The domestic system, therefore, which developed, was in every sense capitalist and in its fundamentals the relation of exploitation between capitalist and labour had nothing of the previous mode of production. Moreover, it was (and still is) of the worst forms of exploitation of labour. As we shall see in the next chapter, it was also unsatisfactory from the point of view of the employer, for it established no direct control over the pace of labour and the organisation of the labour process to ensure uniformity and certain standards. Within the household, the relative freedom of the stocking-makers to organise their time-table had its counterpart the harsh conditions of unpaid, nocturnal labour performed by the women. For, as we shall see, the prevailing habit among the men to leave most work for the week's order towards the end left little chance for the women to do the finishing work in good time.

In conclusion, we can comment here that capitalist development in the Scottish Borders and the expansion of the Textile Industry revolutionised methods of production, and eventually, as we shall see, brought about great changes in population levels and the environment, as well as in housing and the organisation of the household. At the same time, however, a whole network of social relations and practices within the home and the local community were preserved and even encouraged to develop along the same old lines, by the manufacturers themselves and the local bourgeoisie, who saw in them, especially in old paternalistic practices, a powerful ally for subjecting and controlling the local working class to the logic and ethos of capitalist production.

I. The Background

1. Woollen Manufacturing in Scotland During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

The production of coarse woollens developed in the sixteenth century and by the beginning of the seventeenth cheap woollens were amongst Scotland's most important exports, mainly to the Continent and the Baltic countries. This export trade, however, declined towards the end of the seventeenth century and was never revived to considerable proportions, despite efforts during the eighteenth century. The production of coarse woollens was then directed solely towards the home market, while efforts were made to develop the manufacturing of fine woollen cloth. In contrast, the export of raw wool was a

much livelier trade until the Treaty of Union with England in 1707, when it was prohibited.

The wool produced in Scotland during that time was fit only for coarse woollens because of its inferior quality, due to heavy tarring of the sheep which was widely practised because it was believed that it protected them from various diseases.[2] Moreover, the methods of sorting and preparing the wool for the market were of low standard so that compliance with specification orders was very poor. Nevertheless, as Scotland's customers began to develop their own coarse woolen manufacturing the demand for coarse wool was sustained throughout the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth with England alone, since the export of wool had been prohibited by the Treaty of Union.[3]

Attempts to develop a fine cloth industry were not successful, not only due to the low quality of the wool, but also due to the lack of skills in the population. Most skills relating to spinning and weaving of wool were first developed in the production of linen, a successful industry in England, where, also, the production of fine woolen cloth had been established during the eighteenth century, and against which Scotland could not compete successfully. Some attempts were made to teach the local population the necessary skills. In the mid-seventeenth century Parliament passed an act to encourage "skillful artisans" to settle in Scotland in order to teach the local populations the skills in textiles, and offered them great incentives. When some did come, the reaction from the burghs was great.

The closed system of the guilds and the suspicion of the locals towards such outsiders,[4] made life difficult for them and discouraged those who wanted to follow.

A big part of the production of woollen cloth for local consumption was carried out within the home as one part of a complex of productive activities, most of them relating to agriculture and the physical reproduction within the family. Usually only some of the stages would be carried out at home, i.e. preparation of wool and spinning, while others, especially weaving, would be done by the local "custom" weaver and then the cloth would come back to the home for the finishing processes and making into garments, hose, rugs, etc. All work was carried out by hand and the finished product (made by inferior wool and with less skill than foreign products) was hard-wearing but coarse and often ugly, suitable only for the consumption of the poorer classes at home:

> The only affluent classes in Scotland, the merchants and the nobility, were supplied with what they wanted in the way of high quality goods from overseas, leaving the Scottish craftsmen to serve a community of low-earning power for whom the first requisite in any piece of goods was that it should be cheap. Before the days of factory organisation and mass-production cheap meant bad: there was practically no way of cutting costs in craft industry except by skimping on time and materials.[5]

Alongside this subsistence type manufacturing, some attempts were made in the seventeenth century to establish workshops for the manufacturing of woollen cloth. These early manufactories did not have much in common with the vertically integrated firms which developed

in the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were small holdings providing space for a number of hand looms. The weavers worked side by side to order and very often had to pay rent for the use of the loom (or in the case of stocking-makers, for the use of the knitting frame). This came, however, much later, when the knitting frame was introduced in the eighteenth century. Such efforts were the Mills at Bonnington (where the Flemish weavers had settled), and Ayr and New Mills near Haddington. The latter, which was the most successful of all, declined after a while to revive in 1681 when laws prohibiting the import of wool cloth from England made competition less of a hazard. It survived until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Treaty of Union took away any such barriers and competition with England had a disastrous effect on the small Scottish industries that did exist.[6]

Apart from the few efforts to organise workshops, the local manufacturers employed a number of workers in their homes. They provided the tools and looms at a rent, as well as the wool. A certain amount of goods had to be finished within a specified time (usually a week). Other members of the family worked also to complete the goods and a lot of unpaid labour was used this way.[7] This type of production was highly unsatisfactory for the manufacturer because it did not ensure uniformity of product and compliance with order specifications; it gave him no control over the actual production process and very little opportunity to ensure the maximum productivity through discipline.

For the workers it meant a certain degree of control over the pace of work, but also less protection against the employers, who could, and often did, raise rents or lower rates or both. This was mostly the case with women — spinners, and men — stocking-makers. The weavers who were organised in guilds could enforce certain standards in rates, pace of work, etc.[8]

To sum up: the important characteristics of woollen manufacturing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the following:

1. Lack of mechanisation.
2. Lack of work discipline and control over the production process by the employer.
3. Lack of labour organisation. Predominance of the guild system. Prevalence of handicraft.
4. The home is still the basis of a wide range of productive activities, the production of woolens being one of them, some produced for the consumption of the household and some for the market on a piece-work basis.

At these early stages of capitalist development in the Borders (as in the rest of the country) we see no drastic changes in the organisation of the labour process, work methods and labour mobility patterns. The guild system with its restrictive practices predominated. The weavers were organised in guilds as early as the sixteenth century in Scotland as a whole. In the Borders the Galashiels weavers corporation was formed in 1666.[9] The few embryonic factories which were established were no more than enlarged workshops. As Karl Marx pointed out when he referred to these early developments of manufacture:

> with regard to the mode of production itself, manufacture, in its strict meaning, is hardly to be distinguished, in its earliest stages, from the handicraft trades of the guilds, otherwise than by the greater number of workmen simultaneously employed by one and the same individual capital. The workshop of the mediæval master handicraftsman is simply enlarged. At first, therefore, the difference is purely quantitative.[10]

The development of manufacture brought with it some improvements in the environment and services, but no significant changes in population numbers, structure, or housing with the organisation and quality of social life in general.

2. The Effects of the Union on the Textile Industry

The Union of 1707 between England and Scotland did not drastically alter the scene but it did have certain far-reaching effects on the development of the woollen industry. The prohibition of the export of Scottish wool and the removal of trade barriers with England appeared to be disastrous for Scottish wool-growers and wool-manufacturers but did have some beneficial results, also, for the latter.

Stopping the export of wool meant that local manufacturers could have better access to their raw material. On the other hand, the removal of trade barriers with England and the free import of English woolen cloth was disastrous for the few attempts to establish a fine wool cloth industry in Scotland. The trade in coarse woolens,

however, got a shot in the arm by the new access to colonial markets, where there was a high demand for cheap low-quality cloth used for the slaves. Furthermore, Scottish manufacturers were now able to benefit from skills in spinning and weaving already developed in England.

The adverse effects on the trade in raw wool were more painfully felt. The loss in export of wool was recognised as one of the conditions for compensation to the wool-growers. The compensation amounted to £2,000 for seven years which was to be used in order to stimulate the manufacture of coarse wool in the counties where it was grown. But the fund was not actively put into operation until 1727 when a "Board of Trustees for Manufactures in Scotland" was set up to supervise the use of this money. Their first plan (called the "Particular Plan for Wool," and drawn on the basis of advice from wool-growers) was published in January 1728. At first, most of the financial support was given to wool-growers for the improvement of processes relating to the preparation of wool for the market. Fourteen skilled men were employed (at the total sum of £ 280 per annum) for sorting, washing and stapling the wool and money (£420) was also given for purchasing the necessary equipment. These men would be based in a number of wool stations in the lowland wool-growing areas, the Borders ones being Peebles, Lauderdale, Galashiels, Jedburgh and Hawick. The main aim was to improve the quality of the wool coming to the market. These sorters, who were made stampmasters as well, were supervised by a riding officer who visited and inspected the stations regularly. The above arrangement proved to be unsatisfactory and the policy was soon modified by the Trustees into a

system of premiums linked to quantities of wool successfully processed up to standard. Even then the results were very poor and the response from manufacturers dwindled away.

C. Gulvin mentions a variety of reasons for this failure:[11]

1. First of all the subsidy was directed towards areas which, although dominated by influential wool-growers (whose lobby was strong at that time), had very poor reserves of skilled labour.

2. The protective rules of the guilds and various corporations had made mobility of skilled labour and training of more apprentices very difficult if not impossible.

3. Rules concerning inspections and stamping designed to ensure a uniformity and high standard of the finished product were exercised with laxity, especially in areas where the local justices were also the local landowners and had vested interests in selling as much of their wool as possible.

In these early days of capitalist development, the direct links between the state and the dominant classes was a major contribution to the inefficiency of state action (especially of a regulatory or restrictive character), as the latter sought to protect their own interests.

These difficulties were further underlined by a general lack of interest within the Board, in the potential of woollen manufacture. During the first half of the eighteenth century it was linen and not woollen manufacture which was seen as the important growth sector, and morever, ensured a policy of parallel, rather than competitive line with England.

The production of coarse woollens however, did survive the effects of the union with England, and was even further strengthened towards the end of the eighteenth century. The hardwearing qualities of the cloth made it desirable for certain uses in the rough Scottish weather, such as working out of doors or sporting activities. In addition, its low price made the prospect of competition in the Scottish market for English manufacturers an unattractive one, as they would have to face transport costs and great delays due to bad weather.[12]

The situation was different with the production of fine woollen cloth. This sector remained a non-starter throughout the eighteenth century, despite protective legislation, which prohibited the import of fine woollen cloth from abroad. These rules could not be enforced with any great success, as the state machinery for enforcing them was pretty corrupt and ineffective. The affluent classes who could afford such luxuries made sure that they returned from their journeys abroad well stocked for a considerable length of time. Moreover, the rules did not affect the free competition from England, where the manufacture of high quality woollens was well established.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century attitudes had started changing within the Board of Trustees. David Loch, a merchant and influential member of the Board, voiced in his passionate support of the development of woollen manufacture the views of the liberal, forward-looking enterpreneurs of that time when he wrote:

> Of all the labours which can be devised to exercise the hand of the skillful artist, or to give constant exercise to the willing labourer, none

> can be more useful or beneficial than the woollen manufacture; which if properly extended and rightly managed, will afford such an ocean of wealth, such advantages in trade, and such employment for the poor, as can never be derived from any other whatever, except that of fishing.[13]

At a time when localised factors were of paramount importance for the development of industry, the availability of raw material close at hand and the potential pool of labour possessing basic skills made the development of the woollen industry a great proposition. At the same time, around the 1780's, mechanisation was introduced and, although handweaving and spinning continued to be important for a long time to come, the introduction of machinery gave great impetus to the development of the industry.

II. The Woollen Manufacture in the Borders in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Long before the Tweed valley became the world-known center for woolen manufacturing, the Borders were involved in wool trade and the manufacturing of coarse woollen cloth. Essentially an agricultural area, the Borders were divided, in accordance with their geographical make-up, into upland and lowland areas which related to different types of land use. In the lowland areas the quality of the soil and the milder climatic conditions favoured agriculture which continued to develop and is still a successful industry.

Some of the pioneers in the development of agriculture according to capitalist rational principles were based in this area.[14] For the

rougher uplands, however, stock farming was the answer and with it wool production. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when localised factors were still of paramount importance, the existence of large quantites of wool readily available placed the Borders among the wool marketing and exporting areas. However, although this had been going on for as far back as the twelfth century, when wool was first exported by monks settled in Melrose Abbey, it was only one part of local economic activity. It existed alongside with and often as an integral part of agricultural activity, as well as being the raw material for the production of all basic necessities (including clothing, household items, etc.) within the home by the women of the household, or the local community craftsmen.[15]

The isolated position of the Borders made communication with the rest of the country difficult. There were only two roads to the outside world, both in very bad condition and often impassable in the long winter. Under such conditions efforts to expand trade were frustrated until the nineteenth century when development brought the need for better transport conditions on the agenda and the cash to carry them out.

At this first stage of industrial development therefore, locally produced raw materials were of paramount importance — especially wool— as well as local sources of power, such as water. The latter was to become important as a source of power towards the end of the eighteenth century when machinery was introduced and water power became essential. Moreover, its softness made it particularly suitable for the dyeing process.

The counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, which later became the seat of the high quality woollen industry, already had a tradition of wool processing and exporting. The manufacture of coarse cloth known as "Galashiels blues," and of hosiery in Hawick was carried out in a small scale and primarily for the local markets.

Around 1770 Hawick and Galashiels were relatively unimportant in the production of woollens compared with other parts of Scotland. Even within the Borders, Melrose was still the biggest centre with 140 looms, while Hawick had 65 looms specialising in carpets and woollens; Gala, even lower down the scale, had 30 looms engaged in the production of carpets and Galashiels blues.[16]

Nevertheless, the process which led to the textile industry's expansion (starting around 1830) was well on the way. A number of factors combined to create the conditions favourable for accumulation:

1. <u>The Development of Skills in Wool Production Amongst the Local Population</u>

The development of a coarse woollen industry in the North of England favoured by free access to coarse wool after the Union created a larger need for labour. These shortages were covered by recruiting population from the places over the Border, while demand for further training of the local Border population grew. In the light of this the Board of Trustees was petitioned by the Justices in Hawick to make funds available for the setting up of a spinning school and for providing a wool comber to train the local population in the art of

spinning for employment by the North of England manufacturers.[17] Also, ongoing training was provided by the North of England manufacturers themselves. The skills of the local population in the various processes of woollen manufacturing were thus developed and were capitalised upon later when the local industry expanded.

Moreover, the decline of other branches of textile manufacturing (especially linen), released skilled labour, ready to be used in woollen manufacturing.

2. Developments in Agriculture

a Agricultural practices, methods of husbandry which had been practised for centuries, gradually gave way to more modern attitudes which involved better treatment of the wool itself. In particular, the tarring of sheep, which accounted a lot for the coarse low quality of the wool, was phased out. The improvement of pastures, better feeding arrangements for the winter, as well as the introduction of better breeds, all contributed to improved quality of the wool. The local wool manufacturers could thus obtain their raw material, highly improved in quality, locally. This (given the isolation of the Borders due to impassable roads and the lack of financial services, especially credit), was a significant aid to the development of woollen manufacturing.

b Rationalisation and modernisation in agriculture did not only mean a better quality of wool, it also meant the emergence (as in the whole of Britain) of a property-less proletariat. As people were thrown out of farms or in the case of tenant farmers, were squeezed

out, skills which had been part of a whole complex of activities for living became now their only source of livelihood. Also, with the dissolution of the home as the center for domestic production, these wage earners depended more on the market for obtaining their means of sustenance.

3. The Invention of Labour Saving Machinery

Towards the end of the eighteenth century labour saving machinery was invented and used in the Borders. In 1771 frame knitting was introduced to Hawick and within a few years the town became the centre of frame knitting in Scotland. The water wheel was introduced for the first time in Galashiels (and for the whole of Scotland) in the 1770's, leading to the extensive use of water power for weaving. Other machinery, such as the flying shuttle, marked a great increase in productivity of labour.[18]

The use of water power was very important for the Borders, an area too far away from coalfields to make the use of coal possible on a wide scale, even after the introduction of the railway in the area. Moreover, because of its softness, local water was particularly good for the dyeing process which, because of the emphasis later on on design and colour blending, was crucial to the overall production of woollens.

4. Infrastructure, Services and Degree of Population Mobility

For most of the eighteenth century there were only two turnpike roads in the whole of Scotland. In the Borders all roads were impas-

sable through the winter and at other times they could not be used by carts. Somerville in his autobiography presents a vivid picture of the conditions which made it an ordeal for both animals and people, as all carriage of goods had to be done on the backs of horses treading in thick mud.[19] Most of the services affecting communication were then carried out as auxiliary services performed privately, or as regards news and post office services, within the general context of socialising and gossip by travelling tradesmen, hawkers, tailors, shoemakers. Financial services were very poor in the absence of any banks or reliable lending institutions. Lawyers performed this function according to a highly unsatisfactory system. Local manufacturers had to obtain their wool and other necessary raw materials during the summer when the roads were passable and keep their stores full in order to ensure the continuation of production. Consequently, a big amount of capital was trapped in the form of stored goods, while credit facilities were very poor. Expansion was greatly checked due to this combination of lack of liquid assets and poor credit facilities.[20]

Most everyday economic activity was highly localised and dominated by exchange and barter. Regular markets were not established until the end of the eighteenth century.

Mobility was checked in a social system of closely knit relations within the extended household and the village. Strangers were not allowed to settle unless they had credentials and an accepted reason (e.g. apprentices). Even beggars were geographically bound and provided for regularly by the big households.[21]

5. Social Organisation at Work and at Home

During that period, although the use of wage labour was established and production along early capitalist lines was also present, the manifestations of the capitalist mode of production were not the dominant form of social relations. Social organisation was still not essentially altered.

— Economic activity was still directly linked with political and social status. In that society the concepts of equal citizens and free labourers did not exist; who you were politically was directly linked to the type and size of house you lived in, which was also linked to the amount of rent and services offered to the laird. Such services were primarily unpaid labour of a certain duration (usually one day's work every so often), and were also supplemented with payments in kind, e.g. "x" number of bales of straw, or chickens, or other obligations of an economic kind, e.g. obligation to take one's own grain to the laird's mill. Hall, in his History of Galashiels, gives a list of tenants and their obligations from the seventeenth century.[22]

— The home (as already mentioned earlier in this chapter), was the center of a whole range of productive and reproductive activities and although wage labour was performed outside the home too, primarily in the developing woollen industries or in agriculture, it was not seen as a separate activity belonging to a separate world, the world of work as opposed to the world of home. In other words the spheres of production and reproduction were not yet drastically separated.

The market was still the place where one bartered and exhanged surplus, but not the only way in which one obtained the necessities of life. Food, clothing, medicine — they belonged to the home primarily, based on labour performed to a large extent by the women and with the aid of craftsmen who, especially in the case of more well-to-do households, exercised their skills in the customers' own homes. Tailors and shoemakers were a typical example.

— Social control and observance of behaviour rules were exercised within the home by the adult men and within the local society by the elders, of the Kirk session. Penalties varied from strong admonitions and rebuke in front of the congregation to fines and confinement to a public place of repentance called the "pillar." Hall mentions that in the case of Galashiels travellers away from home, they had to present evidence of how they spent the Sabbath. Also, habits such as staying up late and chatting or playing cards, or fighting with neighbours were severely checked by the session. Behaviour was, therefore, checked inside and outside the home, in a society where privacy did not have the same value as in later years among the rising middle class. Towards the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries the disciplinary and control duties of the session were taken on by a magistrate who was appointed by the session and reported to them regularly.[23]

6. Living and Housing Conditions

For the majority of the population in the Borders, as indeed in the whole of Scotland, living conditions were very poor. Basic sanitary conditions were unheard of until well into the nineteenth

century. The streets were the general depository for foul water and other refuse (see Smout and Somerville) and until the second decade of the nineteenth century Hawick, which was by then one of the most important towns in the Borders, had no street lighting and no water facilities (spring water was brought into the town in the form of two public wells in the beginning of the nineteenth century). Within the home, furniture was scanty, carpets unknown except in one or two rooms in rich households, shoes were a luxury introduced at a later stage even for the daughters of the gentry. As most houses were the one room cottage or the but and ben type, all activities were performed within short space, and servants shared space and activities with the tenant farmer and his family a lot more than in the farmer's house or the entrepreneur's house of the nineteenth century.[24]

The staple diet was broth and on rare occasions meat or fowl. The practice of sleeping in beds which were completely enclosed by doors at night was much criticised for its unhygienic effects, especially as it was quite often the custom to put two visitors unknown to each other in the same bed.[25]

Hospitality and support of the members of the same family was very important in the absence of any generalised services for the poor or the ill and old.

A closer, albeit brief, look into Galashiels and Hawick gives a better picture of the conditions prevailing in the Borders' rural towns and villages on the eve of the industrial revolution:

a. Galashiels

The town which was to become the center of a thriving tweed industry throughout the nineteenth century, with great reputation abroad and a lively export trade, was until the sixteenth century a small unimportant village plagued by raids. It was run virtually like a private estate, the property of a number of landowners who succeeded each other according to their favour or disfavour with the crown. In 1599 it became a borough of barony, which meant that though still essentially the property of the landowner, it had no certain rights relating to trade. (This was also one of the main reasons why the landowner strived to get this status for it in the first place, because it secured higher taxes and rents for him.) Under the system of a borough of barony there was a great concentration of power: In 1629, for example, Sir James Pringle was Sheriff of Ettrick, Justice of the Peace, Convenor of Justice. Later on it became common for the landlord to appoint a baron baillie as his assistant. There was no representation of burgesses. In 1655 the burgh was given to Patrick Andro of Barbourland for debt subject to redemption, thus being treated like a private estate.[26]

Apart from the omnipotent presence of the lord, the second major characteristic was the close association with agriculture. A list of rentals from 1656[27] gives us an idea of the different categories of tenant according to the size of house and yard which determined the rent in kind payable to the landlord. Land use and obligations to the landlord were the main yardsticks.

Trade was confined to local coarse wool exchanged primarily in local fairs, for a variety of necessities. The majority of the population was engaged in agriculture.

The manufacturing of cloth ("Galashiels greys") was carried out to a large extent by craftsmen. Towards the end of the eighteenth century there were three mills (two of these were 65 feet long x 27 feet wide and 40 feet long x 26 feet wide; both had side walls 6 feet high). The industry was organised by thirteen clothiers. There was already water power in use and approximately 50 men and boys were employed in these three mills. The rest of the craftsmen and tradesmen included:

240 full-time spinners (emphasis on manufacturing of yarn)
3 blacksmiths
3 bakers
10 skinners and tanners
17 persons dealing with wood (cabinetmakers, carpenters, wheel-and millwrights)
2 candlemakers
5 shoemakers
9 tailors
15 licensed houses

As for the rest, "the number of merchants or shopkeepers could hardly be stated, as nearly every person bought, sold or bartered."[28]

The descriptions we get of the village near the turn of the eighteenth century are obviously slanted, according to the beholder's attitudes, expectations and position. But they all seem to indicate that housing was basically made of the small agricultural thatched roof cottage and that one could observe the beginnings of industry and signs of increasing affluence. Towards the beginning of the nineteenth

century more houses were built and slated roofs replaced many thatched ones.

Dorothy Wordsworth while passing Galashiels in her tour with her brother in 1803 wrote:

> A pretty place it has once been, but a manufactory has been established there; and the townish bustle and ugly stone houses are now taking place of the brown-roofed thatched cottages, of which a great number remain.

David Loch, however, a prominent member of the Board of Trustees and a passionate advocate for the development of woolen manufacturing in Scotland, saw in Galashiels a promising future for the woolen industry and marked the starting effects back in 1778:

> The houses now building at this village evidently show that the people are in a much more prosperous way at present than they were formerly, as one new house is worth, at least, ten of the old ones (!).

Finally, Hall in his History of Galashiels, which was sponsored by the Galashiels Manufacturers Corporation, portrays the village as very undeveloped on the eve of the industrial development of the nineteenth century:

> Near the close of the eighteenth century Galashiels was but a mere village, besides that of the manse, there existed only one slated roof. There was a small colony of weavers, many of whom were also "bonnet lairds," but they were poor and devoid of enterprise.

Despite the different attitudes of the beholder the basic picture which emerges is that of a small town dominated by peasant society organised still along feudal lines, but with the appearance, already, of capitalist forms of social relations (wage labour, development of manufacturing). The buying and selling of commodities took place on a large scale four times a year during the local fairs.[32] These were held at different seasons and the activities taking place were determined by the weather and the needs for the season ahead: The first fair in the year was held on the third Wednesday in March, and it was the main occasion for local trading in seed and corn. The second one, held on the eighth of July, was more general in character, attracting people from the South and had much merry-making and ceremony in it. The third one on the tenth of October was dominated by the cattle market and was the main occasion for buying and killing cattle for the winter meat provisions, while the fourth one was mainly dealing in cattle for breeding for the next season.

For any other kind of trade Galashiels being an "unfree toun" had to pay "communication of trade" tax to Selkirk.

Everyday life was dominated by subsistence labour and home crafts and behaviour controlled by the Church and the Dominie (head teacher).

Around 1780 the village started extending primarily under the pressure of the demand for land for the erection of mills and houses to accommodate the work force (32 in Gala parish and 39 in Melrose parish). Slowly but steadily change was setting in.

b. Hawick

Further down the road in Hawick the situation was in some respects similar, but also with some fundamental differences. It was similar because there, too, agriculture and the domestic system of production were dominant. Its old history with status as a royal borough, however, gave it representation in Parliament, free trade privileges as well as a borough council which placed it within a different political and social climate. Nevertheless, this "climate" was dominated by lack of representation and by favouritism. (The Council became known as "the Eternal Council, which by the nineteenth century was very unrepresentative of the people in the town.")[33] Hawick suffered under the same if not worse bad housing and lack of sanitation conditions. Nevertheless, by the end of the eighteenth century, it was already an established centre for yarn production, had developed a well known hosiery manufacturing, and it had a post office and good road connections.

Around that period we can also trace the beginnings of a woolen cloth industry which was in fact started in order to use the surplus yarn and alleviate unemployment amongst stocking-makers.

Like Galashiels, it had organised craft guilds, but unlike Galashiels, a large and important number of workers retained elements of independent craftsmen even after the "customs" system died out. The Hawick stocking-makers (almost exclusively men at that time) were notorious for their lack of submission to the employer's instruction and rules, and for their militancy (including a long

strike in the first half of the nineteenth century). They operated from home on a piece-work basis and it was a common complaint among Hawick manufacturers that production of hosiery lacked uniformity in pattern, weight and colour, and often fell short of demand, or failed to respond to urgent orders.

The stocking-makers had a certain amount of control over their labour, as they could (and often did) decide to work only as much as they felt was needed to give them money for their needs. The hours of work were long in theory: summer, 5 am — 8 pm; winter, 6 am — 9 pm. They stopped work at 2 pm on Saturday when the finished goods were delivered and more yarn collected. Payment was given fortnightly.

It was quite common to start work, in order to complete an order, in the middle of the week. This did not only have an adverse effect on the finished product but, also, meant that the women, who did all the finishing work at home, at lower rates and often providing their own thread, had to sit up working through the whole of Friday night to finish the order.[35]

Workshops already existed in the town at the beginning of the eighteenth century but had only from six to twelve framers each. The first factory appeared in 1797 but did not come into full operation until later, in the nineteenth century.[36]

Local fairs were of similar function to those of Galashiels, but Hawick, being a "free toun," developed export trade yarn,

especially to Leicester where pseudo-Hawick hosiery was produced. At first all wool was obtained locally, but as the industry developed wool had to be imported as well and by the middle of the nineteenth century almost all wool had to be imported (reflecting the lack of local adequate supply of the right quality and the advantages of exploiting sources in places like New Zealand).[37]

So around the end of the eighteenth century, Hawick with its privileges in trade, large Common and big element of craftsmen was more of a town — albeit dominated still by peasant society values — than an enlarged village with a private estate status like Galashiels.

These differences in the organisation of society upon which the Industrial Revolution brought its effect were very important. To sum up: the society of the Borders in the eighteenth century was essentially a pre-capitalist society organised on the principles of patriarchy and feudal hierarchy. The various spheres of activity and social relations were part of the same hierarchically arranged whole. It was a society based openly on inequality. It was still very much governed by the harshness of weather conditions, threatened by famine and even more so by epidemics. Social control was exercised by the extended family and the Church. Within it the development of industry was slow, hindered by lack of infrastructure, services, mobile labour, lack of capital and skills and depended to a large extent on localised factors affecting the basic conditions of production (i.e. raw materials, water power). Housing as a separate issue relating to industry was nonexistent. Homelessness, except for

beggars and vagrants (and even they were cared for) did not exist. One lived where one's family and means of subsistence were, under strictly defined rules of conduct. It was, also, a society plagued by wars and the squabbles of the landed aristocracy who lost or acquired land, and the people who lived on it and off it, according to political interest and intrigue, and who marched and got killed in the name of that king or that landlord.

It is important, therefore, to realise that these changes we mentioned earlier in this chapter and which occurred towards the end of the eighteenth century, and even into the first third of the nineteenth, although marking a new era, were still not revolutionising the totality of social relations in the Borders. Neither did older ways and practices disappear within a couple of decades. Barter was still going strong while the market was expanding, domestic production existed for a long time alongside factory production. The pattern of social control which had existed for generations was at least in parts maintained and paternalistic practices were carried over. Indeed, the very resilience of older forms of social relations in the face of technological change and expansion of space and population is an interesting problem in itself.

How does this compare with the society of the Borders of the middle and late nineteenth century? And what role did the development of the textile industry play in the changes brought about in the housing scene and the complex of social relations for which the home had been the primary focus?

CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY DURING THE 19TH CENTURY: EFFECTS ON POPULATION AND HOUSING

The Development of the Textile Industry During the Nineteenth Century: Effects on Population and Housing

Introductory Remarks

Around the turn of the nineteenth century, the Borders were still essentially a peasant society. Although the changes which had started within the latter half of the eighteenth century were already felt, in the main towns, life went on pretty much along the same lines as before. Working in the textile workshops was still by and large a complementary activity to agriculture: no drastic population movements were taking place, and infrastructure and services had made no considerable progress.

From the 1830's onwards, however, the textile industry experienced an unprecedented expansion which lasted well into the 1880's, and gained world-wide fame for its products unrivalled even by the English centres of high quality woollens.

Population in the two main textile towns of Hawick and Galashiels rose sharply, as did the number of factory workers. Female factory employment predominated from the 1860's onwards. With the development of the factory system working in textiles became the main occupation for a large section of the population, while subsistence farming dwindled down to the large kitchen garden or small plot. The extended household, so far a centre of productive and reproductive activities, was eventually broken down as the gap

between productive and reproductive activities widened. In physical terms, too, the housing scene was altered, together with the overall environment in the main towns. The thatched cottage was disappearing fast, and although Hawick and Galashiels never experienced the mushrooming of overcrowded tenements on a large scale, bad housing, lack of housing, overcrowding and very rough accommodation conditions within mills, and mill houses, were not uncommon, especially in the main textile towns. Towards the last half of the nineteenth century, however, conditions had improved considerably, there was a large element of workers owner occupation through the cooperative movement, in Hawick, and better houses were built by builders in Galashiels and Selkirk. Street lighting, improved sanitary conditions, availability of the services of a fire brigade, were some of the links in a chain of services, physical as well as economic.

The improvement of the road system and the opening of the Waverley Railway Line were major contributions to overcoming some of the difficulties caused by the area's isolation from big centres of commerce and industry.

Politically, these years varied. Each town had different experiences of the effects of political change, especially on the issues relating to the reform bill. Hawick saw street riots, being a stronghold of liberalism around the 1940's, while in Galashiels local manufacturers publicly stated their dismay at such occurrences and hastened to declare loyalty to the local representative of conservative order, Sir Walter Scott. [1]

In short, all main towns experienced the effects of changes which were brought about by the development of industry, and witnessed population growth, environmental improvements as well as squalor and restructuring of social relations. Each town adjusted to these changes in different ways. The forces of industry, housing and social relations which emerged shared common features, due to uniformity imposed by the factory system. There were, however, important differences too, as each town was already a historically developed urban form, and the small unit, highly competitive structure of the wool industry which emerged in the nineteenth century reinforced the singularity of these towns.

I. Major Population Changes and the Development of the Textile Industry

1. Availability and Character of Labour (the Importance of the Latent Reserve Army of Labour)

In the previous section of this chapter we referred to the development of skills essential for textiles among the population in the Borders. These skills were primarily used for the needs of the household and for the production of coarse woolens under the domestic system of production. [2] Even towards the end of the eighteenth century, when workshops were already established producing for the market, working in textiles was considered as a supplement to agricultural activity. The craftsmen who were employed in these workshops

(or as was the case with the majority of custom weavers and frame knitters at home), had control over the pace of production and the organisation of the labour process. The craftsman's family joined in, the women doing most of the finishing work while the children helped with the preparation of the yarn and the cleaning.

By the 1830's, however, a clear separation between wage earning and non-wage earning population had been established. To this contributed the reorganisation of agriculture along capitalist lines and the creation of a "foot-loose" proletariat, peasants who already possessed the basic skills of spinning, weaving, etc., and had used them for some time before, either in nearby declining small manufactories (linen or shawl making) or as part of the necessary activities within the home. Even in the former case, their wage earning employment to textiles was considered by most of them as a supplement to agricultural activity. So as the dispossessed tenants and agricultural workers flocked into nearby towns looking for work and a way to survive — having only their labour to offer — the industry was provided with a ready-at-hand pool of labour.

At the industry's take-off, therefore, the employers had to make use of the existing labour force and skills as they had already developed during the previous century within the domestic system of production. It was a lucky fact for the Border industrialists that these skills had already been developed. [3] It was not until later on, however, that the further development of the textile industry and the introduction of machinery became in itself a generator of

population growth by attracting labour according to its needs. As we shall see, however, this has proven to be a hard process, the results always falling short of the industry's needs. The organisation of the labour process itself and of the factory in physical terms, was at that stage affected considerably by the multiplicity of separate stages in the production of cloth and hosiery. Although a number of craftsmen were now brought together under the same roof and the control of the same capitalist, it was much later, around the 1860's, that the different processes in the production of textiles were integrated into one continuous process within the factory. For a long time hand weaving persisted and stayed out of the factory gates.

This was both the outcome of the weavers' resistance to their subjection to the logic of factory production and the crudity of early mechanical looms which rendered them unsuitable for the fine wools used. When the quality of the machines improved and mechanisation became a "must," manufacturers responded to resistance from craft labour by employing women.

To begin with, therefore, the move into factory production did not include all processes of textile production (the transformation of which, through technological innovation, largely followed at a later stage), nor stimulate a high influx of population possessing specific skills and characteristics. It rather made use of the existing pool of labour, largely created by the development of capitalist production within the primary sector, and the dissolu-

tion of peasant society locally. Marx points out while referring to the early stages of capitalist development:

> The general character of the labour process is evidently not changed by the fact that the labourer works for the capitalist instead of for himself, moreover, the particular methods and operations employed in bootmaking or spinning are not immediately changed by the intervention of the capitalist. He must begin by taking the labour power as he finds it in the market, and consequently be satisfied with labour of such kind as would be found in the period immediately preceding the rise of capitalists. Changes in the methods of production by the subordination of labour to capital can take place only at a later period. [4]

Indeed, when it is convenient or more profitable the capitalist will adopt precapitalist forms of organisation of labour in terms of location and the labour process, as was the case with the Borders manufacturers employing women in their own home to do spinning.

Nevertheless the dominant relation here too is the one between labour and capital. Far from being non-capitalist, the domestic system of production in this case is one of the worst forms of exploitation of labour by capital. [5]

In quantitative terms, we can see from the population statistics available at that time that the industry was an important focal point for the attraction of population from the beginning of the nineteenth century, but that the sharpest increases occurred in the two main centres of Hawick and Galashiels after it had established itself and water power driven machines were widely used. In qualitative terms, the transformation of a large part of the local population into wage labour had already been accomplished. At this point we

turn to take a closer look at these population changes:

2. Population Changes in the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, 1801-1881.

For the biggest part of the eighteenth century, population movements were restricted. In an essentially agricultural society, mobility was checked not only by the very nature of work, but also by the rules of feudal organisation and the restrictive practices of the guilds. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, more liberal though still guild-like bodies had come into existence while the old guilds were eventually to relax their rules about numbers of apprentices, conditions for entry, etc. In 1777 the Galashiels Manufacturers Corporation came into existence as a response to the changing needs of the industry, and eventually superceded the old Weavers' Cooperation. The introduction of a low fee as the main requirement for apprenticeship was a great aid to the development of textile manufacture.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century there were fewer obstacles to mobility, and as it has already been mentioned, the reorganisation in agriculture and the decline in the linen industry led to the uprooting of great numbers of people for whom mobility was a vital necessity.

Throughout the nineteenth century the two main textile counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk saw a steady increase of population, until the 1890's, when the industry entered its deepest crisis leading to unemployment and population decline, a trend which was never to be significantly reversed.

The Pattern of Population Change

During the period of population increase the two counties shared certain common features, as well as showing significant differences. Tables 1 and 2 give a general and comprehensive picture of population increases in the nineteenth century and the trend of population decline which was established from 1890 onwards.
(See following pages.)

a. Common Features

- In both counties the biggest population gains took place in the main towns, namely Hawick and Galashiels.

- In both counties, although a steady increase occurred from 1801 onwards, it was reasonably small to begin with and reached its sharpest points after the 1830's, which was (as already mentioned) the starting point for the expansion of woolen textiles in the Borders.

- After 1890 the population started declining (a trend which has not been significantly reversed since then). After an initial drop, however, the population in the towns remained fairly stable with minor variations, especially during the second half of the twentieth century.

- The population lost through outward migration, especially in times of crisis, was of active, childbearing age, a trend which eventually led to the unbalanced age structure of the population in the Borders.

Table 1

Population 1801-1971 and Intercensal Variations

Roxburgh County

Date of Census	Population	Intercensal Increase or Decrease	
		Amount	Percent per Year
1801, March 9/10	33,721	— —	— —
1811, May 26/27	37,230	3,509	0.97
1821, May 27/28	40,892	3,662	0.94
1831, May 29/30	43,663	2,771	0.66
1841, June 6/7	46,025	2,362	0.53
1851, March 30/31	51,642	5,617	1.18
1861, April 7/8	54,119	2,477	0.47
1871, April 2/3	53,974	- 145	- 0.03
1881, April 3/4	53,442	- 532	- 0.10
1891, April 5/6	53,741	299	0.06
1901, March 31/April 1	48,804	- 4,937	- 0.96
1911, April 2/3	47,192	- 1,612	- 0.34
1921, June 19/20	44,989	- 2,203	- 0.47
1931, April 26/27	45,788	799	0.18
1939, Mid-year Estimate	45,410	- 378	- 0.10
1951, April 8/9	45,557	147	0.03
1961, April 23/24	43,183	- 2,374	- 0.53
1971, April 25/26	41,959	- 1,224	- 0.29

Source: Census for Scotland, 1971.

Table 2

Population 1801-1971 and Intercensal Variations

Selkirk County

Date of Census	Population	Intercensal Increase or Decrease	
		Amount	Percent per Year
1801, March 9/10	5,388	--	--
1811, March 26/27	5,889	501	0.88
1821, May 27/28	6,637	748	1.20
1831, May 29/30	6,833	196	0.29
1841, June 6/7	7,990	1,157	1.57
1851, March 30/31	9,809	1,819	2.11
1861, April 7/8	10,449	640	0.63
1871, April 2/3	14,005	3,556	2.98
1881, April 3/4	25,564	11,559	6.20
1891, April 5/6	27,353	1,789	0.68
1901, March 31/April 1	23,356	- 3,997	- 1.57
1911, April 2/3	24,601	1,245	0.52
1921, June 19/20	22,607	- 1,994	- 0.82
1931, April 26/27	22,608	1	0.00
1939, Mid-year Estimate	21,996	- 612	- 0.33
1951, April 8/9	21,729	- 267	- 0.10
1961, April 23/24	21,052	- 677	- 0.31
1971, April 25/26	20,868	- 184	- 0.09

Source: Census for Scotland, 1971.

b. Main Differences

The sharpest rise in population in the county of Roxburgh took place between 1841 and 1851, by 5,617 (an increase of 1.18%) while in the county of Selkirk it was between 1871 and 1881, by 11,559 (an increase of 6.20%). The different periods of population increase reflect the different stages of development of the two main branches of the industry — hosiery and tweeds — in the two industrial towns. In the case of Selkirk County, population increases reflect the development of Selkirk and the creation of new mill towns like Walkerburn, as well as industrial expansion, which took place at an accelerated pace in Galashiels after 1860, following widespread mechanisation. When we consider increases in the two major industrial towns, growth is more spectacular. Galashiels being the centre of tweeds was turned from a mere village into a busy industrial town, and had steady population growth until the 1890's.

Between 1801 and 1831 the rise in the population of Galashiels was by 50%, while overall population growth in the county was relatively slow. Between 1811 and 1881 the overall increase in Galashiels was from 986 to 15,330.

Hawick, already a busy hosiery and yarn producing town by then, with established rights in trade, saw similar increases: 50% in the years up to 1831 and a rise from 3,683 to 16,184 between 1811 and 1881.

Information about the origin of the incoming population indicates that large numbers came from the surrounding countryside,

and of those who came from outside the two counties, almost all came from Scotland (95%). In 1861, 45% of the population of Selkirkshire and 23% of the population of Roxburghshire had been born outside these counties, while by 1881 these percentages rose to 52% and 26% respectively.[6] In the two industrial towns of Hawick and Galashiels, by far the majority of the incoming population came from outside their two respective counties.

The increase in population was accompanied by a sharp increase in the labour force. The factory labour force in the Border woollen industry rose from 3,500 in 1835 to 31,000 by 1890. This increase was the result of the development of the factory system, and of the use of new machinery in the factories. It marked a qualitative shift in the local population, as well as being the result of inward labour migration. During this period large numbers from the local independent craftsmen and agricultural labourers passed into the ranks of the factory workers. Moreover, large numbers of women and children were recruited by the textile industry. As C. Gulvin rightly points out:

> . . . most of the recruits to the woollen industry were agricultural workers. Some were no doubt former domestic woolen workers now entering factories, and others were recruited from other woolen districts in Scotland.[7]

The influx of population was definitely beneficial for the industry because it provided the basis for a larger relative surplus population from which the necessary labour force was recruited. Moreover, the skills already developed amongst these workers could be utilised. This initial inflow from the countryside, however,

was absorbed after a few decades and thereafter, the industry had to take active steps in attracting the skilled labour force necessary for accumulation. Introduction of new machinery (a slow process in itself) brought about changes in the industry's needs for labour in both quantitative and qualitative terms.

The introduction of power driven machines in the 1830's generated both the need for new skills and for more workers. At this stage of capitalist development, the introduction of machinery did not always involve a cutting down in the numbers of the labour force employed in the factory. For the independent craftsmen, it did eventually mean unemployment and/or switching over to machine factory work. It meant loss of independence and satisfaction at work, and even as in the case of weavers, the breakdown of a whole culture and way of life.

Despite these population increases mentioned above, the industry continuously suffered from the lack of a "pool of labour." In an area as remote from big centres as the Borders, with only one staple industry, once the initial inflow from the countryside dwindled away and the industry established itself in the periodic cycles of expansion, overproduction, stagnation and crisis, the need for a relative surplus population—a labour reserve army-in its "floating form," was sorely felt. (That is, of an overall labour population, parts of which can be made redundant or remain inactive during stagnation periods, but would still be available for reentering during periods of high activity and so on, according to the needs of the industry.)

The crucial question, therefore, for the industry in the Borders, was not simply whether there was enough population initially from which to recruit the necessary labour, but most importantly, how to retain this labour and to have it available at hand according to the industry's needs. Given the fact that a high percentage of skilled labour was necessary, the problem of such a labour reserve army existed in both quantitative and qualitative terms. Although the Borders industry did not experience a major crisis until the 1890's, within the long cycle of expansion, it did suffer smaller fluctuations in profitability and demand for its products. Of these, the crisis of 1847-48 produced an outward migration of 57%, in contrast with 2% in 1846 and 3% in 1850. [8] The Crimean War was also felt by the Borders industry but there are no figures of outward migration available for that period. [9] The introduction of the power loom around 1860 however, brought unemployment, hitting the hand loom weavers hard and putting pressure on them to submit to factory discipline, which they regarded shameful slavery.

During periods of feverish activity, especially from the 1860's onwards, the existing labour force was not enough for the operation of all the machines which were necessary in order to cover demand, while recruitment of additional labour was not easy.

Henry Ballantyne, a world famous manufacturer, often had to send unfinished goods to the north of England or to Glasgow for finishing, and there were complaints from other manufacturers, too, about the lack of discipline and the actual shortages of skilled labour, which in some cases led to machines standing idle at times

of increased orders. The reasons for this lack of skilled labour especially in Galashiels seemed to have to do not only with the remoteness of the Borders, but also with low wages compared to the rates down south (especially Yorkshire), lack of good and reasonably priced housing, and strict worker discipline. (As we shall see in more detail later on in this chapter, the housing scene differed between Hawick and Galashiels, the former having a big element of worker owner occupation and a developed cooperative movement, in contrast with Galashiels, where most housing was provided by a small number of big builders and by some of the employers.)

Under such conditions of male labour scarcity Borders manufacturers turned to making full use of female and child labour, in line with the rest of the capitalists of that time, as well as trying to retain their skilled labour during times of inactivity. Henry Ballantyne often complained about having to pay men sitting idle or being underemployed. [10] The local ruling classes joined in this effort with the usual charity events to provide relief for workers at times of unemployment, or even offered subsistence employment. Such was the case of hand loom weavers who were employed by the Duke of Buccleuch to work on his estate at the rate of one shilling per day, a charitable act which must, nevertheless, have had some benefits for the Duke as well.

3. Employment of Women and Children

During the formative years of the industry and before the 1830's there was a clear division of work and workplace between male and

female labour. Certain skills were carried on (as they had been for generations) by the women at home, such as spinning and knitting, sewing, or piecing. We have already mentioned that in Hawick it was common practice for the wives of stocking-makers to sew the stockings and thus often meant staying up all Friday night in order to have the orders ready for Saturday. They got no payment for this labour, and often had to provide the thread themselves. Sommerville in his autobiography refers to the unpaid labour which was performed by women servants in farms and large households. This included a variety of skills, ranging from spinning, to sewing, and finishing shoes for the workers on the farm, as these were bought with only part of the sole on and had to be reinforced with more layers. [11]

Weaving was a male occupation as well as dyeing and sheering and a number of processes necessary for finishing cloth which required physical strength and the use of heavy tools.

With the introduction of power looms in the 1860's and improvements in many tools, which were then made much easier to handle, the employment of women and children at lower rates was possible and offered an attractive way for increasing profits in many respects: it made easier the lowering of wages on top of increased productivity due to the introduction of machinery as well as securing a docile labour force. Women were introduced to the factory as weavers, and soon whole families would be employed in the same factory. Children were particularly preferred for certain operations, because of their small size, like sweeping away fluff during spinning. [12]

But there were more advantages than lower wages and the carrying out of specific operations attached to the employment of women and children. These primarily related to the docility of the work force, and in the case of the young, the shaping from an early age of a skilled, non-militant workforce. Smout mentions that the ideal family for the purposes of countryside mills was a widow with numerous children. [13]

Later on in the nineteenth century, restrictions imposed by law on the employment of women and children and the shortening of the working day made necessary the further introduction of machinery and the intensification of operations as well as speeding up the pace of production, as a means of raising the productivity of the labour. (In all these the Borders industry reacted as did industry elsewhere in Scotland and in the United Kingdom. Later on, however, high percentages of female labour in the textile industry persisted in contrast with the rest of the country. [14])

4. Age Structure of the Labour Force

The age of workers, males and females, ranged from ten to seventy years, in the formative years of industry. The older workers were primarily the independent craftsmen and their wives working at home. Within the factory the young were preferred, and after the 1860's in both Galashiels and Hawick the biggest numbers of female workers were between the ages of fifteen and twenty, while for men it was twenty to thirty. These figures reflect the preference for young women and men, not only due to their strength and vitality, but to the flexibility of the young to adapt to the pace of the

machines and their willingness to submit to factory discipline unlike the older craftsmen.

5. Marital Status, Family Life

The widespread employment of women after the 1860's affected marital status of the workforce. Married women were not preferred "because they were not reliable to turn up in time." [15] Preference was given to young girls and unmarried women.

Where whole families were employed in the factory, the relations between parents and children took a different pattern from the traditional one of obedience to the parents, etc. The constant experience by the children of their parents' position vis-a-vis their employers and immediate superiors could also have very contradictory effects in that it did expose the parental lack of power towards others.

The different organisation of the industry in Hawick and Galashiels seems to be closely connected with the different social climate and moral code adherence between the two towns.

In Hawick, where the piece-work form of organisation was still the norm around the 1830's family life within the working class seemed to be different from the rural home-based larger unit. Observations registered in the third statistical account of Scotland, although inevitably presented from the observer's moral standpoint give some idea of the situation. Marriage seemed to

have been entered into without previous preparation, and the practice by operatives to work only as much as it was necessary to get the basics for living meant great insecurity for families in times of crisis. This was often aggravated by the head of the family leaving the area altogether in search of work elsewhere and dropping all responsibility towards the family. A table provided in the same source of the number of paupers and people qualifying for parochial relief gives some indication of this by showing a high number of occassional paupers:

Years	Permanent Roll	Lunatics	Occasional	Total
1835	164	1	390	555
1836	153	1	460	614
1837	147	1	524	672

Complaints were also voiced concerning the attitude of the afflicted workers (in a manner which reminds one of more up to date comments about "scroungers," etc.):

> Applications, especially in seasons of domestic afflictions, are made for parochial relief, and apparently without much feeling of degradation even by families, who, by industrious exertion and provident habits, might have raised themselves to a state of honourable existence. [16]

In the same source, it is also pointed out that the existing savings bank and similar institutions are supported almost exclusively by the church-going population. [17]

At the time that these signs of "insubordination" and "low morality" amongst a big section of the working class in Hawick were recorded, evidence on the development of the environment, amenities and services was on a different key:

> The general appearance of the town has been very much altered of late years. New streets have been built in all directions for the accommodation of the increasing population, whilst many of the older tenements with their thatched roofs have been entirely removed to make way for buildings more accordant with the taste of modern times. By means of these alterations the dwelling houses in general have not only been rendered better in point of comfort and accommodation, but the shops also, both as respects their appearance and the quality of the various commodities they supply, have undergone the most obvious and important improvements. 18

By that time, also, the town had good supply of water, lighting by gas, two printing presses, three public reading rooms and three banks.

Towards the end of the 1830's therefore, the town of Hawick was showing the characteristics not so much of a rural town, but of a growing (though still by comparison small to the big centres in the west and English south), industrial town with the development of the contradictions inherent in accumulation: that is, on the one hand involving the increase of activity, the tremendous move forward in terms of productive activity and inventiveness, the betterment of the environment, to be enjoyed primarily by the bourgeoisie and to a lower extent by the highly skilled, better paid sections of labour; and on the other hand causing the break-up of older forms of social organisation, the increasing creation of a proletariat and the

impoverishment of physical and social conditions of existence for the less skilled, less secure, in employment terms, sections of the local working class.

And what of Galashiels? There are no comparative descriptions at that time of either great improvements in the environment or of pauperism and moral decline. It is referred to as a declined market town where the once busy fares have fallen into disuse. Although the housing appearance has been altered by the beginning of the nineteenth century, thatched roofs and small cottages giving way to new houses here as well, there does not seem to be the same overall development. Neither do we get the same violent fluctuations on the living conditions of the population. In the list of paupers, for instance, we get nineteen enrolled poor and six receiving interim supply — a very different picture from that in Hawick. The expansion of the woollen industry brought in more population, but the reins of control over social life seemed to remain in the hands of the church and the local representatives of the ruling class, especially Sir Walter Scott who also carried with him the aura of the charismatic personality which made the area world famous. But the reproduction of social relations of domination was also enhanced increasingly by the work process itself within the factories, where unlike the uncontrolled, unpredictable behaviour of the piece-work stocking-makers and the weavers, the organisation of life by the factory rhythm seems to be a strong additive to the overall climate of benevolent paternalism. The observer/commentator of the new statistical account of Scotland understood the impact of the machine and the labour process imposed by its introduction on social relations remarkably well:

> There can be no training of the volatile minds of youth equal to that which is maintained at the factories: and it may be observed, that the profits arising from the water-wheel are not be be estimated by the quantity of human labour, for which the wheel is a substitute, but by the steadiness of application which it exacts of all the hands cooperating with its own movements. No time may be lost; a moment's inattention is detected; the diligence acquired early becomes a habit; and the same exactness is requisite in all departments occupied by old and young. The effect is not confined to factories, but goes with the same persons into all their other avocations. [19]

The development, therefore, of new organisational forms in production involving the emergence of factories was not only a decisive factor for the success of the Borders woolens industry, but had great implications for the restructuring of social relations and forms of control over labour within the developing capitalist mode of production in the early nineteenth century.

Forms of social relations which predated capitalist organisation of industry persisted. They were either dissolved eventually or carried over and strengthened. Such were the cases of patriarchal relations within the home and the factory, the role of women in reproduction (both physical and ideological) of social relations within the confines of the family, religion, or paternalist practices in the factory and the local community by the manufacturers and members of the local ruling class.

The brief reference to the emergence of the factory system in the Borders which follows highlights the fascinating dynamic inherent in the historical development of new organisational forms in production, under the impact of the existing material conditions

of production (which at that time were highly localised), in relation to the existing web of social relations.

Once fully established, the factory system brought in turn great changes in the material condition of production and social relations, but carried with it, nevertheless, its "birth marks" which later on in the 1960's played a great role in the controversy over local industrial development in the Borders.

6. Emergence of the Factory System in the Borders

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the embryonic factories had been established, in the forms of workshops and small manufactories near water. At that time, the majority of the workers still worked at home but with the introduction of new machinery and the influx of population mentioned earlier in this chapter, these workshops were able to expand into the first mill factories. C. Gulvin produces a short, fascinating account of the development of workshops by dyers and fullers whom he calls "the pivot of the new organisation." [20] They had already become conveniently situated in the production process to become both "an organiser of production as well as a performer of specialised services for others."

By the very character of the processes involved, and unlike weaving or spinning, dyeing had to take place outside the home, in a separate building and near water. The Tweed water was particularly suited for this process due to its softness.

The quality of wool and of spinning and weaving were (and still

are) important for the finishing stages in order to produce a high quality product. So, it became clear that control over these earlier stages was desirable. The dyer was the one to organise orders from weavers and spinners and to act as an intermediate link between them and the merchants who were often his clients. This process which had started back in the middle of the eighteenth century was completed by the introduction of new, more sophisticated machinery driven by water power at locum, thus bringing the once independent craftsmen under the same roof and under the control of the same production process, and, of course, the same master.

We must not forget, however, that these factories were still very small and highly dependent on skilled labour. Although enough capital existed to set them off, it was often common for joint stock companies to be formed and employers to use the same buildings, installing their workforce on different floors and working to their own separate orders while sharing power, machinery, etc.

So in contrast to the highly competitive small unit industry that was to develop after the 1830's with its different secret connections with merchant houses and its exclusive patterns, the industry at these first steps in the transition from the enlarged workshops to the vertically integrated factory was characterised by cooperation and sharing of facilities to a considerable extent.

A more detailed account of the industry's organisation and main lines of development during the nineteenth century will be given in the next section of this chapter. For the purposes of the

argument here, we must stress that in accordance with the rest of Britain, but even more so due to the rural character and the remoteness of the Borders from big centres of population and power producing fields, the introduction of new machinery together with the eventual domination of the factory system over the domestic system, was a long process. The coexistence of different forms of production and social relations with it shaped the local specifics of both industrial development and housing in the Borders.

II. Main Characteristics of the Textile Industry in the Borders During Its Expansion Period

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Borders had become an established centre for a worldwide famous industry of fancy woolens. Scottish tweeds were well known for their quality and uniqueness in colour, design and durability. The industry developed a structure which was dominated by the small family firm with its secret links to big single merchant-houses in London which still brought under its organisation a mixture of factory and home workers, of power driven machinery and hand operated looms.

The hosiery branch of the industry, although not gaining worldwide reputation as early as the Tweed branch, expanded considerably from 1800 onwards and after mechanisation in the 1870's became one of the strongest export oriented textile industries, surviving through stagnation and recession periods into the twentieth century.

In the section which follows we shall refer to the main characteristics of these two branches in the nineteenth century as well as to the wages, conditions and forms of struggle prevailing at the time.

1. The Tweed Industry[21]

a. Small scale, high quality goods, labour intensive industry.

The small family firm which specialised in the production of coarse woollens in the turn of the century, and which towards the

thirties turned into fancy tweeds did not develop economics of scale even during the period of its expansion and boom. On the contrary, as the industry entered into large units and mass production in centres like Yorkshire, where immitation tweeds were produced to cater for the lower end of the market, the Borders manufacturers saw their future in further specialisation in high quality goods and in maintaining a small, closely controlled, flexible to quick changes, unit of production.

The unique combination of smoothness, durability, flexibility and brightness of colour which characterised tweeds was the result of the quality of wool and the method of weaving.

Because of the way tweeds were spun (by twisting yarns in a way which obtained a thicker weave), they required less milling, and thus avoided the dulling of colour which is the result of heavy milling. Tweeds were "made-in-the-loom," rather than made "in-the-finishing." But this very process of "twilling" as it was called (a term which around the thirties gave the name tweeds to the product due to a spelling mistake) had certain effects on the development of the industry itself: it put an emphasis on design for innovation. By imaginative and careful blending of colours different results could be obtained and new combinations which distinguished the new product. Also, the combination of this method of weaving and of the necessity to use high quality pure wool, which due to less milling could preserve its lustre and show it to best advantage, the use of power driven machinery was not widespread in the industry; at least not until such machinery was perfected to such an extent that it

could be used without breaking the fine yarn, or without restricting the variety of colour that could be used, by restricting the number of different yarns that could be spun simultaneously. The late use of power driven machinery was not only a characteristic of the Borders industry. In England, too, and in bigger centres mechanisation of industry was achieved in a slower and mixed way. The remoteness of the Borders from coal producing areas made such schemes too expensive until much later when the railways were introduced and a good network was established servicing the industry. Even then, however, the specific methods mentioned above did not foster the generalised and exclusive use of power driven machinery. This, of course, made the development of mass production methods even less probable. The industry was, therefore, labour intensive and depended heavily on specific skills of high quality, which through the years had been established amongst the local population. For the working class of the industrial centres in the Borders the staple industry was textiles (and, as we shall mention in more detail later on in this chapter, closely knit with a tradition of a whole complex of social relations inside the factory and the community around it). It follows that during times of high production, when the existing skilled labour force was not enough, the industry faced great problems, as it was not able to draw further labour of the kind it needed from close-by areas or from the ranks of the unemployed — as could have been the case in the industrial urban centres close to other towns, etc. This was a great obstacle to the acceleration of the industry when the conditions for such acceleration of production were present, and an impetus to keep and not to shed its labour during times of low activity, because it would be extremely difficult to regain it again when needed. For the workers, especially the

highly skilled ones, it meant a considerable degree of security of employment, of a certain degree of freedom of choice of employer (there was always another one down the road), and for that period high wages and the provision of housing.

b. The need for flexibility and the emphasis on design. The role of fashion; further effects on the organisation of the industry.

We have already mentioned how the emphasis on design and high quality goods contributed to the preservation of the small family type unit of production. But this specialisation on the upper part of the market, and the emphasis on exclusiveness and innovation in design had other effects on the organisation and structure of the industry, given also its constraints from geographical and skilled labour factors.

Exclusiveness and high quality were very important, given the kind of clientele the Borders manufacturers were catering for. During a period of intensive industrialisation, the development of big centres and the emergence of big concentration of toiling masses, leisure, sport, the countryside were established as the privilege of the upper class and, also, through its outward expression in appearance, through fashion in clothing, eating and other living habits, a way to separate them from these masses, to keep the links, garnished with a certain nostalgia for the old good times, with a different way of life. The Borders manufacturers, with an eye for what sells, caught on this very well and the introduction of high quality, durable (therefore suitable for out-of-doors activity) cloth

in the colours of nature, of stone and heather, hit on the right chord. The appeal of Walter Scott to this clientele and his connection with the Borders and the river Tweed were a very fortuitous coincidence for the industry. But to cater for a clientele which puts emphasis on exclusiveness at a time of growing competition, not only from the manufacturer in the near village, but more importantly from big centres which based their success on mass-produced cheaper imitations of tweed, meant to be always on your guard, and to be able to turn up, quickly, with new designs. Innovation, and flexibility were, therefore, very important. In the conditions prevailing today this means high technology, and the development of big, centralised Research and Development (R & D) departments. For the Borders textile industry of the 1860's it meant small, flexible units,specialisation and highly skilled spinners and design weavers. The effects on the structure of the firm were to bring about decentralisation and fragmentation in production, in an industry where centralisation of processes and vertical integration had been prevalent. Specialised spinning workshops developed, and the drive for specialisation strengthened further the tendency for small, highly competitive units.

To all mentioned above, we must add the initial lack of capital and the general shortage of circulating capital, which both contributed to the creation and continuation of the small unit of production.

c. Exclusiveness in trade, specialisation in distribution.

High specialisation in production of luxury goods at the time

of big merchant houses, all far away from the Borders, led to exclusiveness in the distribution of the products. Links with big merchants were crucial, as they were the point of contact with the clientele and the eye for developments in demand. Such links were therefore secretly guarded and created high dependence of the manufacturers on a small number, or often one merchant house, with the result of linking profitability with the fate of such houses, and of sacrificing the opportunities for diversification in production methods or size of cloth, etc. In the early days of the industry's development, marketing was done through local fairs, or as in Galashiels through the establishment of jointly used marketing halls, where the manufacturers exhibited their products, came into contact with their clients, noted down demand and developments in demand. This of course was a highly localised system, for an industry which met needs in the local market. Tweeds were highly dependent on trade with England and abroad, especially the United States, France and Germany. And although Borders manufacturers and their sons took active part in keeping an eye on developments in raw materials and fashion, the services of a distribution agent were crucial.

d. Small capital, high dependence on credit, emphasis on circulating capital.

As mentioned already, the industry started with a shortage of capital, a lack of credit facilities and with a lack of circulating capital, because due to to the isolation of the Borders and the bad weather conditions, coupled with lack of passable roads, manufacturers

had to store large quantities of wool and other raw materials in order to keep up production during a big part of the year, when it was impossible to bring wool into the area. Therefore, the initial lack of big capital, worsened by the lack of credit facilities, was coupled by the trapping of capital in the manufacturers' warehouses.

By the 1860's, however, the situation was considerably altered, as changes were brought about, spurred by the developing industry itself which needed the necessary financial and physical infrastructure services in order to go ahead. Credit was now easily available and was widely used. Especially because of the time lag between order, delivery and purchase, a fair amount of circulating capital was necessary, which would make the advance purchase of wool possible. Of course, due to the great road improvements and the introduction of the railways, it was not necessary any longer to store large quantities of wool. Still, the advance purchase of wool was inevitable. By the 1860's almost all wool was imported, especially from New Zealand, and fluctuations in world prices were an added headache for the manufacturers who had to find the extra cash in time in order to obtain the wool necessary for the continuation of production.

But the industry depended heavily on credit because there was often a time lag between handing in goods to the merchant houses, and getting the money back. In other words, realisation of profit was slow, and often complicated.

It is clear from the above that the fate of these firms was closely linked to the fate of the credit firms and the merchant houses (often being the same firm), and that under such conditions

the links with highly credible, reputable merchant houses were of vital importance and were covered with secrecy that reminds one of industrial espionage.

The availability of credit, in combination with geographical limitations due to the industry's location in the narrow valley by the water which was surrounded by mountains, had another effect on the structure of the industry: When it was necessary to expand the plant, due to concentration of processes, take over of firms, etc., or due to further specialisation, it was easier to open new plants in another location, rather than to expand the same plant, or to invest in labour saving machinery (the latter was problematic also for the reasons mentioned above, relating to the method of production and the lack, at that time, of perfected power driven labour-saving machinery).

During that period therefore, investment in fixed capital was low and expansion led often to the opening of more branches. Even when profits were high and investment higher, the Borders manufacturers preferred to invest in other spheres (e.g. mines abroad, plantations, etc.) rather than in machinery (fixed capital) at home.

2. The Hosiery Industry

a. The Formative Years:[22]

Although the first stockingframe was invented by William Lee, a clergyman, in 1593 in Calverton, Nottinghamshire, the first frames

did not appear in Hawick until 1771. They were introduced (against considerable opposition) by a wine merchant, the son of merchants and local Baillie, John Hardy. The four hand-frames he brought were of the narrow type (16 inches wide), and could knit one stocking at a time. During the first year he employed five men and six women, and made 200 pairs of stockings.

To begin with, stockings in Hawick were only made of linen, then of a mixture of linen and worsted, and by the end of the eighteenth century wool was introduced in hosiery (the first all-wool stockings were introduced by an Englishman, whose daughter married a stocking-maker).

Among the early stocking manufacturers was also an evangelist named Haldane who started in the area by holding open air religious meetings and later on established services in the building of the Kirk Wynde Tabernacle in 1805. This building eventually was turned into a stocking shop after serving as the Congregational Church and a local theatre.

By 1815 there were already nine hosiery manufacturers employing men and women in their newly created "factory shops," including that of the later famous Pringles of Scotland firm. Over and above those there was a number of small shops with trendy or eccentric names, such as "King of Shops," "The New Move," "Rob the Lairds," or "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

A considerable number of people were also employed at home, including a lot of women — usually wives and daughters of stocking-

makers — who did a lot of the finishing work.

From the evidence available through reports and chronicles we get the picture of the hosiery industry starting as a very fragmented small unit enterprise, the biggest part of workers employed at home or in dingy workshops and using exclusively hand-operated frames. These basic characteristics continued until the 1870's, when the wider introduction of power frames and the factory system gave a different turn to this industry, including labour relations (as we shall see in the next section).

The introduction of broad frames in the 1840's was an impetus for expansion of hosiery trade over all Scotland. The number of hand-frames in Scotland rose to 2,605. Hawick, with 1,200 hand-frames in 1844, and by 1846 the industry employing 933 people — the majority being men — became a big centre of hosiery manufacture.

By 1851 there were 21 factory shops, with 50 small shops attached to these, including some small owners, and 24 private houses being used as small stocking shops.

b. Spinning and the Hosiery Industry:

Before 1800 most of the woolen yarn used in Hawick was brought from Galashiels where it was spun. By 1825 Hawick had developed a lively spinning industry with eight water mills and twenty full sets of machinery consuming up to 50,000 stones of wool annually. Much of the spinning was also done by women at home. During times of boom in the Tweed industry which were always associated with labour

shortages, Henry Ballantyne had to send much of the yarn for his products to be spun in Hawick by women. [23]

By the mid-nineteenth century, Hawick had developed its spinning trade, exporting to England and abroad. Although spinning often served as an absorber of unemployment in the hosiery sector, it often proved to be a double-edged knife: The English hosiery manufacturers could produce at lower wages and were often subsidised from the poor rates. As a result, products which were made by yarn spun in Hawick could be sold back into Scotland at lower prices than the Hawick products.

As many hosiery firms branched out into the tweed trade after 1830 many tweed firms developed their local yarn-spinning departments. [24]

The hosiery industry (based in Hawick primarily) shared many of the main characteristics of the Tweed industry briefly mentioned above. Small size, fragmented structure, highly competitive units of the family firm type predominated here, too. Due to Hawick's isolation from large centres of industry and commerce, hosiery manufacturers depended also on big merchant houses for the distribution of their products and export trade which by the second half of the nineteenth century extended to America as well.

Mechanisation was even slower than in the tweed branch of the textile industry while the domestic system endured until the 1870's and was never completely abolished. Moreover, the emphasis on high quality goods made of pure wool and luxury cashmere yarns proved to

be the road to success and, later on, especially during the twentieth century, the road to survival in a shrinking woolen trade.

In this short section we referred to the main characteristics of the industry's organisation and structure during its period of expansion. Up until the 1890's accumulation was strong and between 1860 and 1890 the Borders experienced prosperity, the effects of which were witnessed (especially within Galashiels, Selkirk and Hawick), on the environment, the development of new spatial formations — even new villages as was the case of Walkerburn — and of course, housing for the workers.

The next section deals with aspects of the impact of industrial development and the employment situation, especially on the standard of living and working conditions and housing for labour.

III. Impact of Industrial Development

The development of the textile industry was the motor force behind a wide range of changes in social organisation, living conditions, the environment, the provision of services and the provision of housing in the Borders. The main industrial towns, especially Hawick and Galashiels, witnessed most of these changes throughout the nineteenth century and set the pace for the rest of the region's urban settlements. As already mentioned, these changes took place over a long period of time, and even by mid-nineteenth century older, pre-capitalist forms of social relations persisted alongside with the (by now) predominant capitalist forms.

The factory system which was established earlier in the tweed branch, then in the hosiery branch, was firmly established by 1860, with widespread mechanisation (especially in the tweed branch), and served as a magnet for incoming workers. Although by 1860 almost all wool was imported and the industry depended heavily on export trade small, competitive family run units were the predominant form of organisation. While on the level of production competition and rivalry reigned supreme, on the level of social relations within the local community emphasis was also put by the employers on cooperation: between employers and workers, between industrialists and landowners, between industrialists and the local middle classes.

Perhaps the most enduring link between the work-place and the wider community was the attitude of benevolent paternalizing exercised by all sections of the ruling class.

Housing reflected these changes and for a long time embodied old and new forms of social relations.

Before examining in more detail the prevailing forms of tenure and house-ownership we think that it is important to refer briefly to some of the major changes which took place and the prevailing conditions from the 1860's onwards:

1. Change in the composition of the labour force (qualitative as well as quantitative).

a. Increase of wage labour.

This was closely related to the development of the factory system and was encouraged further by the expanding labour needs of the textile industry — especially of the tweed branch. In fact the tweed industry suffered from a lack of skilled labour, especially from 1860 onwards, while the absence of local labour reserves was sorely felt. Henry Ballantyne had to send goods for finishing outwith the Borders.

So despite the increases in population the labour needs of the tweed industry were always pressing. This had an impact upon industrial relations and was decisive in the efforts exerted by local industrialists, as well as landowners, to keep their labour during times of slackening productive activity.

b. Persistence of craft labour and hand-operated machines.

As we have already mentioned the industry depended heavily on skilled labour and hand-operated machines in both sectors (tweed and

hosiery) existed alongside developing power-driven machinery for a long time. The emphasis on high quality products, which especially in the case of tweeds involved specific and delicate handling of the woollen yarn prohibited the use of the power-loom, at least until it was perfected to the point that it could handle finer yarns. Nevertheless, even then the emphasis on design for the uniqueness of the colour and texture of the finished product ensured a privileged position for a number of spinners and hand-loom weavers during most of the nineteenth century.

c. Entry of women in the wage labour force and establishment of the long trend for female labour in the Border textile industry.

The combination of increased labour need of the industry on the one hand, and resistance by craft labour to submit to the discipline of the factory system on the other led to the attraction of women and children to the factories in great numbers.

After the introduction of legislation regulating employment by children their numbers fell, but female employment was to remain a major characteristic of the Border textile industry, and as we shall see in the second part of the thesis, a problematic feature for the development of the Borders in the 1960's.

d. Survival of the domestic system of production.

Even after the generalised operating of the factory system the industry continued to embody elements of craft labour based on the domestic system of production. This included a. craft male

labour, predominantly stocking-makers and a number of weavers; and b. women working at home as spinners or finishers during times of increased productive activity. In this way the women who had not been engaged in the factories served as a locally available reserve army of labour in its stagnant form. This type of female labour persisted during the post-war period, and indeed is present even today, especially in the hosiery sector.

2. Wages and living conditions of labour in the woolen sector.

For most of the nineteenth century the general position with wages in the woolen industry (especially tweeds) was summarised in the motto: high wages for high quality products. Much of the evidence which exists relates to hand-loom weavers because of their privileged position in the woollen industry. From reports giving data on wages around 1838 and the discussion of these data and other sources by C. Gulvin in his study of the Border woolen industry, two main points stand out: [25]

a. The privileged position and high standard of living of hand-loom weavers in Hawick and Galashiels in the 1930's and up to the 1960's. This contrasts sharply with the impoverished situation of hand-loom weavers in many other industrial towns of central and southern Scotland.

b. The great degree of variation in wages throughout the industry.

a. The privileged position of the hand-loom weavers in Hawick and Galashiels. In the reports from Assistant Hand-loom Weavers

Commissioners, 21 March 1839, living conditions of hand-loom weavers featured for Hawick " as good, if not better than other classes;" for Galashiels "exceedingly good," and their morals "very superior to those of Glasgow;" in Selkirk equally "exceedingly good" with similar wages as in Galashiels. In Earlston, Innerleithen and Jedburgh conditions featured as very good with the exception of times of slack trade in Jedburgh.[26]

In all textile centres meat was common for dinner and the education of the children was very good.

The Galashiels hand-loom weavers were the most privileged ones, receiving weekly clear wages up to 16/6 around 1838. Also, it seems that they had great strength in imposing conditions and resisting lowering of rates, as it is witnessed from the comment in the same report when relating to weavers working at lower rates in Innerleithen:

> The weavers of Galashiels, it is said, would not have permitted this infringement on their rate of wages had they attempted it there. [27]

The following table gives an idea of wages earned by hand-loom weavers (at Henry Ballantyne & Sons, Galashiels and Walkerburn) as contrasted with wages of power-loom weavers (mainly women) and all the firm's workers.

TABLE 1

AVERAGE WEEKLY NET EARNINGS OF WOOLLEN WORKERS (FULL-TIME) AT HENRY BALLANTYNE AND SONS GALASHIELS AND WALKERBURN, 1850-79[8]

Date	Handloom weavers (m) (Galashiels		Power-loom weavers (f) (Walkerburn)		All workers	
	s	d	s	d	s	d
1850-2	13	7	-		9	3
1852-4	15	4	-		10	0
1854-6	20	3	-		12	6
1856-8	10	10	-		12	10
1858-60	19	7	11	8	14	0
1860-2	19	10	11	1	13	10
1862-4	21	8	12	9	15	3
1864-6	22	7	13	2	15	9
1866-8	20	10	12	10	15	0
1868-70	-		13	6	13	9
1870-3	-		11	7	14	1
1873-6	-		12	10	17	8
1876-9	-		13	11	17	4

Source: The Tweedmakers, C. Gulvin p. 169

b. Variation in wage rates: There were great variations "due to differences in kind or quality of work performed in the mills," as C. J. Wilson pointed out in the Inquiry by the Royal Commission on Labour in 1891.[28] Weavers of "fancy" goods performing more intricate work were paid higher weaving prices than weavers of "plain" goods. Also, towards the end of the nineteenth century there were differences in pay rates between weavers engaged on "fast" looms and those engaged on "slow" looms. Differences on the method of payment added to the complicated wage scene — some were paid on a piece-work basis, others by the hour, weekly, or even annually. Moreover, for the biggest part of the century each mill payed its own rates, no standard pricing system being in operation.

Finally, before the strike of 1849 the weavers in Galashiels had to pay for their own light and weft winding.

Despite these variations the overall picture shows that:

i. Hand-loom weavers in the Borders enjoyed high wage-rates and standard of living until 1880, when the introduction of the steam-loom started having an adverse effect on their strong position.

ii. Wage rates for hand-loom weavers were much higher than wage-rates for power loom weavers. This in effect meant that male labour was better paid than female labour in the industry during that period.

iii. The position of the hand-loom weavers in the Border textile towns was quite different from that of the weavers in other textile centres of Scotland. According to evidence from the same report, the average earnings of adult Paisley shawl weavers fell steadily between 1810 and 1830: from 25/- between 1810 and 1816, to 7/6 between 1826 and 1830.

C. Smout in his History of the Scottish People 1560-1830, while attributing this decline to gross oversupply of labour, gives a vivid description of what in fact was the expropriation of the independent craft labourer in the face of the expanding factory system.[29]

Stripped from the protection which the guild system afforded (as this "fetter" had been pushed aside in the drive for free labourers needed by capital) and without the protection which later on unionisation offered, weaving was an easy trade to enter by the 1820's. Within it more and more misery was added for the increasing numbers of isolated home-industry based craftsmen.

The description which follows contrasts sharply with the picture of prosperity and bargaining strength of the Border hand-loom weavers in the 1830's and 1840's:

> Year by year the weaver himself got older, less able to withdraw from the trade, yet from ageing and under-nourishment less able to gain from it even those meagre earnings he had won in the past, until he was at last reduced to winning little more than a child. The periodic slumps and stoppages of trade at the bottom of the trade cycle, when the occurred then, reduced everyone to the same dead level of suffering. The weavers before 1830 had ceased to contribute to those Friendly Societies and Savings Banks

> by which they had previously tried to put something by against the day of adversity. [30]

In Galashiels and Hawick hand-loom weavers, together with other skilled, highly paid workers in the woollen industry, were not only enjoying a much higher standard of living, but contributed greatly to the cooperative movement locally and, especially in Hawick, were able to build their own houses through the local Building Society known as "The Hawick Working Men's Building & Investment Society," which was established as a permanent society in 1864 and was mainly supported by local textile workers.

In the Report from Commissioners of Friendly and Benefit Building Societies of 1872 the secretary of the society, in a letter to the Commissioners, comments that:

> The members are nearly all working men in the tweed and hosiery factories here. The instalments have been paid with remarkable punctuality both on the shares and the houses. Indeed many of the purchasers have paid considerably in advance of their instalments, whilst a few have already paid up the whole price. [31]

3. Wages and living conditions in the hosiery sector.

In the hosiery sector the stocking-makers of Hawick were the most representative group. Unlike the hand-loom weavers their average wage rates were low and living conditions harsh. Moreover, they were in a weaker position than the weavers, especially before 1824 (the year of the abolition of the Combination Laws), as their association was illegal. Nevertheless, they managed to unite in

strike action against their employers.

According to evidence taken from an agreement entered by employers on May 26, 1819 to reduce wages, the following rates and reductions applied:

> For making 12 pairs of stockings per week on 26 gauge the wages were 12/- gross, from which there was a deduction of 1/- for frame rent, seaming 1/- needles and light 6d, house rent for frame and fire 3d, staff oil 3d, staff winding and metal 3d, leaving a balance of 8/7 net wages. Even this amount was not paid in cash but in goods as some of the employers possessed shops. This terrible system prevailed until the Truck Act of 1833 made the practice illegal. The deduction to be imposed amounted to 1/9 per week, leaving a net wage of 6/10.[32]

This reduction led to a strike in 1822 which lasted nine months. Only one employer refused to reduce rates and his workers continued work, while after the strike had ended the stocking-makers presented him with a silver cup to show their appreciation.

The life and working habits of the stocking-makers were equally characterised by turmoil. As already mentioned they worked at very irregular hours, even factory shops were open at all hours, most work was done between Thursday, Friday and Saturday till 8 pm. Their wives had to stay up late to do the finishing work on Friday and as they got their housekeeping money late on Saturday night, shops used to stay open until midnight on Saturdays for this purpose.

Living conditions were, therefore, very poor and during strike action in early nineteenth century their families suffered great privation.

Working conditions were equally bad, and even many workshops were dingy, badly ventilated and with poor lighting.

Unscrupulous employers were in the order of the day and some notorious cases remained long in the memory of stocking-makers. Equally strong was resistance to the introduction of machines.

The Englishman who introduced the carier for the frame was chased out of town. When in the 1850's some employers tried to introduce the power frame there was such resistance that operatives from England had to be imported to work these frames. John Laing, the first hosiery manufacturer who used power-frames had to obtain protection for those he employed in 1858. [33]

Accumulated grievances which had to do with bad living and working conditions, oppressive practices from local employers and low wage rates often led to strike action culminating in the long strike of 1872, which was successful and the masters, despite their expressed fears for the adverse effects on the trade, conceded to most of the stocking-makers' demands.

The history of the stocking-makers of Hawick is in itself a subject which merits a study in social history. For the purposes of this thesis we must point out the following:

a. There were great differences in organisation, wage rates and living conditions between stocking-makers and hand-loom weavers. The latter being also one of the incorporated trades, could act cooperatively even before the abolition of the Combination Laws. The stocking-makers association had to lead an illegal existence until the late 1820's.[34]

b. Politically both groups of craftsmen were active but the stocking-makers of Hawick were by far the radical liberals of their time, taking active part in demonstrations against Tory voters in the 1830's.

Strike action was common among stocking-makers and their only way of pushing their demands.

c. Both groups of craftsmen, especially from the 1830's onwards, developed a great tradition in the local cooperative movement and were, in big numbers, members of the local Building Society in the 1860's. This attitude to workers' owner-occupation in the second half of the nineteenth century was greatly supported and promoted actively by the local employers, some of them being founding members of the local Building Society.

It is in the light of the above that the next part of this chapter (referring in more detail to housing for labour in Hawick and Galashiels around the 1890's) must be read, as well as claims in the post-war attempts for industrial development in the Borders that this has been an area with long tradition of peaceful coexistence between employers and workers and absence of labour militancy.

IV. Working Class Housing in Hawick and Galashiels Towards the End of the Nineteenth Century

The development of the textile industry, especially tweeds and hosiery in Galashiels and Hawick, brought great improvements in the environment, the availability of services, physical infrastructure and, above all, housing.

By the middle of the nineteenth century sanitation and the road system had greatly improved, Hawick had street gas lighting, a fire engine, post office and savings banks. The provision of sevices in Galashiels was equally improved. By 1860 there were great changes in working class housing as well. New stone-built houses appeared and the local employers, when they did not build them, encouraged workers' owner-occupation. The industry was always in need of skilled labour during expansion periods, consequently, the attraction and keeping of key workers was of great importance, thus putting a premium on good working class housing.

In the section which follows we shall examine the different forms of tenure in working class housing in Hawick and Galashiels, and the differences which emerged in this field between the two main industrial towns.[35]

Hawick

a. Small Landlords

In the borough of Hawick according to evidence taken by the valuation rolls for the year 1889-1890, we can classify as

small landlords a whole range of representatives of different trades, professions, etc. Most of them owned around three to five houses each which they rented to local workers and labourers. Amongst them we find solicitors, grocers, builders, shoemakers, bakers, some farmers, warehousemen, dressmakers, stocking-makers, slaters, plumbers. The Commercial Bank appears as a small landlord as well as a small group of weavers.

b. Hosiery and Woollen Manufacturers

These landlords merit a different section because their houses were primarily built for their workers, although not exclusively rented to them. They were not "tied" to the job, but were given to workers at a rent. This practice, unlike the agricultural cottage where tied accommodation dominated the housing scene, was common in other parts of Britain as well. In his statement given before the Royal Commission on Labour in 1891, C. G. Wilson, a woolen manufacturer, voiced the opinions of many employers when he stressed that he preferred to keep housing arrangements and work arrnagements separate, even though out of necessity he had to provide the house in order to attract and keep his workers, especially the skilled ones. In this category we get big manufacturers like John Laing and Sons, W. Lockie and Company (fifteen houses), Wilson and Glenny Manufacturers (40-50 houses).

c. Small Number of Workers Owner-Occupiers

In this group belonged primarily weavers who owned the houses they lived in outright.

d. Workers Owning their Own Houses Jointly with the Building Company Limited

This group was large (over 300 houses) and represented the strong influence of the cooperative movement amongst the

skilled workers of Hawick. They were primarily textile workers although some workers from other trades were represented as well. Reference to this high level of owner occupation by workers is made in many accounts of Hawick near the end of the nineteenth century, and this phenomenon was often used to draw attention to the high wages and the prosperity of the working population as well as their main virtues of thrift and orderliness. Bremner also refers to this phenomenon in his classic work, The Industries of Scotland, and C. J. Wilson stated in his evidence before the Royal Commission of Labour in 1891 that almost half of his workers owned their houses this way, while praising the value of workers owner occupation. The same man estimated the value of these houses around £50,000. The houses so built were of good standard for that day, and had small gardens. They were built on a 99-year lease basis at the rate of £3 to £4 per acre rental for building land.

There is no evidence of landlords from outside Hawick, or of big builders owners of houses.

The housing ownership and tenure which emerges from that information is quite similar to other industrial towns of that period, although the size of the owner occupation by workers group is perhaps larger than in most places where this effect of the cooperative movement was present, due mostly to the high concentration of skilled workers with strong craft organisation traditions, who were important for the type of industry the Border woolens were.

Galashiels

The housing tenure scene in Galashiels is quite different from the one in Hawick. There is no significant level of owner occupation

by the workers, and no strong presence of the Building Company. Also, a number of houses were owned by tweed manufacturers and rented to their workers. The main difference from Hawick, however, is the presence of a small number of builders as big landlords owning a fair amount of the houses in the town. In more detail:

a. Big Landlords Owning a Fair Amount of Houses

Six builders feature as the biggest landlords in the town, and as a group they own a big part of the stock. With them a merchant and a grocer as well.

b. Tweed Manufacturers: Small and Medium Landlords

As in Hawick, employers had to provide accommodation for their workers, at a rent, but their share of the housing stock was much smaller from the builders. Perhaps they were more forced by circumstances to provide the housing in the earlier stages of the industry's expansion and by the 1890's this role had been taken over to a large extent by the builders.

c. Small Landlords

A number of different traders and shopkeepers are in this category, but unlike Hawick they are much fewer. They include a grocer, a fishmonger, a cabinetmaker, draper, butcher, carter.

d. Workers Owner Occupiers and Workers Landlords

This is perhaps the biggest difference with Hawick apart from the presence of big builders as landlords. Although the Building Society is mentioned the number of workers owning their houses through it is very small. Also, there appears a small number of workers, primarily weavers, home owners. Finally, as an outside concern, the North British Railway

Company appears to be a big landlord, its presence being a result of the railway line which by now had been established.

The comparative picture of house ownership in the two towns reveals certain similarities and also basic differences. By relating these to the different lines of development of the various branches of the industry in the two towns, we can get an insight into the links between the process of accumulation and housing provision for labour during that period.

1. The Different Categories of Tenure

If we use the main tenure definition used in housing today then we can say that in the industrial towns of Hawick and Galashiels towards the end of the nineteenth century, we see two main categories: privately rented and owner occupation. The big absence is council housing and other forms of state housing in general. At that time the state had not yet become directly involved in the provision of housing for the working class. Its role in housing was more a policing character and was interested in it from the angle of public health. The very term private rented sector implies the existence of another non-private sector. To avoid confusion we shall therefore refer to the different groups relating to housing as different house-ownership groups. These were of three main categories:

a. woollen manufacturers, who were the local industrial bourgeoisie;

b. a collection of different individuals from various trade professions, etc., called the "urban bourgeoisie" (see Damer and

D. Byrne, "The State of the Balance of Class Forces, Early Working Class Housing Legislation," in Housing Construction and the State.) This is a term which we find useful, qualified by the authors as follows:

> . . . .the rentiers included not just owners of ground rents with seats in the House of Lords but a whole complex of small capitalists: agents, lawyers, builders, investors in building societies, and landlords. They constituted a complex of roles too diversified to be played by a single individual, which together comprised what we shall call an "urban bourgoisie," involved in the prediction and realisation of the urban social structure, but particularly with the provision of working class housing to rent. [37]

Keeping in mind the difference in scale and form of industrial organisation between Glasgow and Hawick and Galashiels, we shall use this term in this analysis of forms of working class housing in these two Border towns.

c. There is also a number of workers home owners, primarily in Hawick and overwhelmingly owning through the local Building Society, called the Hawick Working Men's Building and Investment Company Limited.

In the Table below the various groups are listed according to whether they had large, small or medium involvement in the production of working class housing:

		HOUSEOWNERS FOR RENT	WORKERS HOUSEOWNERS
HAWICK	L.	Woollen Manufacturers	Skilled Workers through the Hawick Building Soc.
	M.	Urban Bourgeoisie (various)	
	S.	Bank, Railway Company	Skilled Workers. owning outright.
GALASHIELS	L.	Urban Bourgeoisie. Railway Company (6 big builders dominant)	
	M.	Woollen Manufacturers	
	S.	Various, including some workers	Skilled Workers, mostly weavers, owning outright.

2. Houseownership for Renting to Workers

During the nineteenth century the role of housing the working class passed from industrial capital to the "urban bourgeoisie" (see above). But a large urban bourgeoisie could be sustained only by the operation of major industrial cities. The small industrial towns like Hawick and Galashiels were away from big centres. The industry in these towns, due to its main lines of development and basic characteristics (already discussed earlier in this chapter) favoured the small scale, labour intensive firm based on an atmosphere of benevolent paternalism (for the reproduction of the necessary social relations, so that it could respond to the needs of accumulation and ensure profitability). The strong tradition of craft organisation

amongst the skilled workers on which both the tweed and the hosiery industries depended, contributed also to the delay of mechanisation further and to the opening up towards more mass-production methods. Because of the isolation and the small scale of these towns the manufacturers had to provide housing in order to attract and keep workers. They did so at a rent, and claimed that these were in accordance with the high wages paid to their workers. There is evidence that on the whole, skilled workers were not worse paid than in other parts of Britain but that, also, the cost of living was much higher than in most other industrial centres in Britain, especially this was the case in Galashiels. This category of house-owners was important in both towns but played a bigger role in Hawick, while in Galashiels was outstripped by a section of the bourgeoisie, a group of builders. Concerning the role of the urban bourgeoisie in Hawick the situation is again different between the two towns. In Hawick there was no concentration in the hands of a few rentiers, but the urban bourgeoisie was made up of a large number of different individuals each owning only a small number of houses for rent, usually not more than three. The lack of cooperation by the landed gentry, and especially by the Duke of Buccleuch who would not release land for building purposes, was one of the decisive factors in the difficulties experienced locally in housing production. Complaints were often voiced by Hawick manufacturers about this as early as the 1820's, who contrasted this situation to the great cooperation offered by the landed gentry in Galashiels, who made land and water power available, thus painting a promising future for this town which would soon become (as it was believed then) the "Leeds of Scotland." Therefore, the different relations between the two locally

established fractions of the ruling class, the landed gentry and the industrial bourgeoisie were an important factor in accounting for this major difference in houseownership. It is in this light, also, that the strong presence of the North British Railway Company as a big landlord in Galashiels can be understood. The story of the opening up of the Edinburgh Hawick line and its extension to Carlisle is another example of protracted disputes between the two fractions, and signifies the different positions held by them according to their different interests in alternative types of development. These different interests were represented by different railway companies. [39]

3. Houseownership by Workers

The difference in the level of houseownership by workers in the two towns is another important feature. The overwhelming majority of this houseownership group in Hawick was an expression of the cooperative movement, which was stronger in Hawick than in Galashiels. On this point there are two main questions to be asked:

Firstly, how can we explain the high level of workers houseownership in Hawick during the 1890's?; and

Secondly, how could we explain the differences between Hawick and Galashiels, keeping in mind the character of industrial development in these two towns?

a. The importance of workers houseownership in Hawick in the 1890's.

Houseownership by workers in the late nineteenth century is associated with the cooperative movement and with that section of the working class which is loosely called the "labour aristocracy." In Hawick this section of the working class was made up of weavers and stocking-makers mostly. Both had strong craft traditions and organisation and in the case of stocking-makers, whose position was much more endangered by their not being one of the incorporated trades of the town, a tradition of greater militancy and political agitation as well. Resistance to capital and to the discipline of the factory system was strong amongst both craft groups, but much more so amongst stocking-makers, whose independence was a great headache for local manufacturers and a great obstacle to developing and ensuring standards of production, as well as having control over the pace of production. Secure housing was of great importance for workers still working according to the "custom system" in the 1870's, as their home was still, also, their workplace. Moreover, given the continuously threatened position of craft workers by the introduction of new machinery and the employment of women and children, to own one's home was added security from poverty and a way of separating from the lower sections of the working class, who in times of periodic crises swelled the list of those qualifying for poor relief in the town.

These aspects of respectability and thrift were also emphasized by the bourgoisie who saw great benefits in workers houseownership. A high level of workers houseownership meant less worry about providing working class housing for the manufacturers. Furthermore, it provided them with a check on outward labour mobility during periods

of crises and low activity, which, given the industry's reliance upon skilled labour and the remoteness of the Borders, was of great importance, because it kept the workers within the area to be used when needed again. Their interpretation of these high values of thrift, security and order amongst that section of the population was loaded with moral undertones and the belief that the "backbone of the country" were aspiring towards values highly professed by their superior class.

Given the constant struggle against domination by capital and the growing insecurity of craft labour in Hawick, especially of the stocking-makers, we think it is in the light of the harsh reality of their life situation that their attitude to houseownership must be seen, rather than on some high moralistic values. The cooperative movement made it possible for many of the workers to own their own home and sometimes, also, a house or two more which they would then rent to the lower section of the working class, thus adding some security against future ineventualities. Preliminary findings from research into the houseownership by shoemakers around the same period in Northampton draw attention to similar attitudes:

> This period saw the rapid extension of the factory system in the town with attendant loss of the control of labour processes and the constant threat of unemployment resulting from mechanisation: at the same time small workshop production continued to exist in certain forms and new workshops were even set up. The purchase of houses by their occupiers — which often involved having two or three houses through a building society, living in one and renting the rest to other workers — seemed primarily to be a purposive way of protecting themselves (and to a certain

extent their families) from the manifold effects of the dominant processes of capitalist society.[40]

b. The contrast with Galashiels. The low level of houseownership by workers.

In Galashiels the level of workers houseownership was low compared to that of Hawick, and the few worker houseowners are weavers, owning outright. If we look at the different patterns of work organisation and character of the labour force this could be accounted for by the high degree of domination by capital. Although there was a certain amount of resistance by weavers, the employers' response by employing women and children was successful in eliminating the weavers' power. The new power looms which were introduced were slow but worked steadily, and offered flexibility of design in the fashion of the day. Nevertheless, the emphasis of the industry on high quality woollens did need some weavers and there is evidence of handloom weavers operating alongside with the factory power looms after 1900. This would explain the absence of weavers houseowners.

In Galashiels, unlike Hawick, there was also a different tradition and political climate in the relations between the various class factions. On the eve of industrialisation Galashiels was a village, society was organised along the lines of lack of mobility and close control by the Church elders and by the landed gentry, whose main representative in the area, Sir Walter Scott, famous writer

and Justice of the Peace locally, exercised great power of control through his position, but also his fame which was a matter of local pride.

Given the small family type unit of the typical tweed firm, it is not surprising that the transition into the capitalist mode of production was not altogether difficult, especially as it took place only gradually and produced no dramatic effects of the scale of big industrial centres. In the third statistical account of Scotland, the influence of the water wheel upon the young workers in particular is highly praised by the parish priest who wrote that part (the relevant quotation is given earlier on in this chapter, in the selection dealing with the take-off of the industry). The social fabric of relations and practices was, therefore, more favourable in Galashiels for the development of industry than in the free town of Hawick with its long tradition of independent stocking-makers and liberal politics.

To conclude: The different patterns in working class housing and in the main houseownership groups can be best understood in the light of the process of capitalist industrial development. The different social organisation in the towns and the complex relations between the different classes can account for part of the different lines of development of the textile industry. Common localised factors, availability of raw material, local skills, water power, as well as competition from big centres from outside the Borders can also account for similar lines of development. In this process, the provision

of housing for the local working class, given the historical period and the absence of state housing, had to be solved locally. We must therefore understand the links between the development of the textile industry and housing provision, as they were mediated by the different forms of class struggle and of struggle between different factions of the local ruling class.

Later on, when after a period of decline and stagnation industrial development entered the scene again, the links were less visible and the relation between local industrial development and housing for labour must be understood as they were mediated by the State during a historical period dominated by advanced internationalisation of capital and further decline of local factors.

CHAPTER 4

INTERLUDE

Interlude

The period of confidence and boom was followed by stagnation and the deep crisis of the 1890's, which was marked by falling profits, a reduction of trade and mill closures. As a result, unemployment rose and at a time when the state had not yet taken on the task of maintaining the unemployed, this meant immigration. Big numbers were leaving, mainly for abroad.

The crisis did not make its full impact at first, when the clouds started gathering in the horizon. Production had been expanding during the 1870's, following the initial boom in exports early that decade, and favoured by the fall in wool prices. However, the collapse of foreign trade and the imposition of stiff import tariffs on the continent and the USA were sorely felt. The Border towns were particularly affected by the McKinley, and later, the Dingley tariffs. Trade with the USA which was over £500,000 per annum had dwindled to £50,000 by 1905. For Galashiels the effect of the tariffs meant sheer disaster: the town's trade to the USA of 75% was reduced to 5%.

The imposition of foreign trade barriers meant increased competition, especially by the big enemies of the Border manufacturers, their Yorkshire textile competitors, for the domination of the home market. This they managed to achieve by exploiting and, to a certain extent, affecting fashion and tastes, which increasingly favoured cheaper, fancier clothing and change, rather than life-lasting, high quality, expensive garments. The Border industry which for some decades had been oriented toward high quality, uniquely designed fancy woollens, found itself squeezed between the tariff barriers

abroad (where demand was high for good quality stuff) and the increased demand at home for new types of clothing, quite different from the plain, but high quality cloth they had been successfully based on.

To these changes and competition forces we must add the effects of the introduction of ready-made clothing, especially when it became possible to introduce better materials and to produce high quality clothes "on order." The threat to those producing "on order" for that section of the market became serious.

The local industry was not able to adjust both to mass production techniques and to the new demands by the ready-made trade. The isolation of the Borders, together with the lack of any big concentration of population, which would have provided the necessary pool of labour (from which the industry could have drawn what it required in terms of skills, etc.) were a crucial handicap. To these structural factors one must add the effect of the established by now patterns of competition between firms within the Borders, and the great diversity of attitudes towards change held by local manufacturers.

The industry's highly fragmented structure, which as we have seen contributed to an interborough rivalry, proved to be a handicap in times of hardship. Common policies were even more difficult to establish in a climate of disagreement and suspicion. Moreover, there were fears that the long established patterns of paternalistic management practices and the overall social control patterns would be seriously threatened by taking on new methods which would involve the introduction of "outsiders."

It is therefore not surprising that attempts for diversification in 1898 did not meet with success. Efforts to bring clothiers firms from Glasgow in order to establish clothing factories in Galashiels, for making local cloth into garments were frustrated. The majority of local capitalists did not support the scheme because they feared the effects of introducing Glasgow class struggle practices, but also because it clashed with their established complex pattern of linking up with merchant trade. [2]

The local workers also reacted with suspicion as they saw in this introduction of outside labour competition from lower wages, and a threat to their established patterns of bargaining, which rested to a large extent on relative shortage of skilled labour, and a policy of high wages.[3] To this climate of deepening crisis, inertia and falling back into "good old times" nostalgia, was added a note of decadence. Local opinion was quick in criticising the lack of nerve and dynamism, as well as the non-ploughing back into the industry of profits. Many manufacturers were accused of shutting their eyes and concentrating on their own pleasures and luxuries, or investing into other ventures abroad, quite unlike their forerunners. [4]

This inability of the local textile industry to respond to change had a double counter-effect: the industry could not face competition successfully, and it could not benefit from the new cost-saving techniques. [5]

The effect of the crisis on local firms was, therefore, the following:

a. Small firms, as well as firms who responded by lowering standards, went under.

b. A small number of big firms went in for a certain degree of modernisation and adjustment to change, by introducing cheaper materials or entering a new sector (e.g. sportswear, athletic suits by Ballantyne).

These changes involved the introduction of new machinery followed by unemployment. The spinners were particularly hit by the introduction of worsted yarn, for the production of the cheaper "Scotch worsted."

In addition to these structural changes new markets were procured, in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Part of the industry, especially in the knitwear sector, pushed up into further specialisation in high quality products, catering for an exclusive clientele; a move which was consequently favoured by the emergence of knitwear as the convenient and comfortable garment for leisure, which was now becoming dominated by the car-drive.

These changes meant further shrinking of the existing work force as well as the job generating capacity of the industry. Given the lack of any other significant industrial presence, locally this meant increased dependence of the Borders on agriculture (which was also shedding labour due to modernisation) and textiles. The long established practices of industrial relations and resistance to influences from outside continued, while the general tendency of capital to develop closely to already established big agglomerations of population and

services, pushed the Borders further back into seclusion: a place for Walter Scott fans to visit, yet very low in touristic opportunities, a place for the local lairds to recharge their batteries and do their shooting each year, and the seat of world-wide known tweed and quality knitwear.

In the following chapter we shall refer more extensively to the industry during the time of stabilisation and the time when the issue of industrial development appears again reviving hot argument and conflict.

The Impact of the Crisis on Population and Employment

The peak of population growth around 1881-1891 was followed by a pattern of steady population decline. The main characteristics of this decline were:

a. It affected particularly the landward areas, while the industrial boroughs remained relatively stable. This reflected the low job generating capacity of the local industry. In the 1830's, population flocked in from the surrounding countryside, thus providing the industry, which was the main focus of attraction for this population, with a close-at-hand labour force possessing some traditional skills. In the early 1900's the industry was not that sort of magnet anymore. In other words, whatever locally available labour reserve army there was, in its passage to the ranks of employed labour in industry it was lost to the Borders all together.

Table 1 gives a brief picture of the population decline in numbers within different ages and sex categories.

b. The majority of those migrating came from the ranks of employable male and female population above the age of twelve.

1. In Roxburgh County

In Roxburgh County we have a reduction in males above twelve from 21,583 to 15,925 in the decade 1911-1921, followed by a further though smaller decrease in the decade 1921-1931. Similarly, there was a significant reduction in the numbers of females above twelve, from 25,609 to 20,629 during the same period (Table 1).

Among the small fluctuations in the period 1911-1931 was the increase by 10% in the numbers employed in personal services, basically a rise in female employees, reflecting perhaps the effect of the oncoming crisis of the 1930's, and an increase by 17% (basically males) in the numbers employed in the commercial occupations.

The downward trend for agriculture continued with a drop of 12% of male employees; the effect of the crisis, as well as the shrinking of industry, was further reflected in the 10% drop in the employees in transport and communication, and a decrease in the numbers of builders and decorators.

These last percentages, considering the small numbers involved in these sectors anyway, show a very low level of activity indeed. (See Tables 2 and 3.)

If we compare the two main industries, agriculture and textiles, during the same period, we get the following trends (see Table 2):

a. A reduction in the number of persons employed in both industries in the period 1911-1931;

b. A domination by male employees in agriculture — 29.4% and 6.2% for males and females respectively in 1931, and a female domination in textiles — 13.3% and 26.5% (% of total in all industries) respectively.

As we shall see later these trends of decline in the numbers employed and different patterns of sex domination in the two industries continued right into the present, only with minor changes.

A closer look into the textile industry, contrasting the two main branches of wool textiles and hosiery/knitwear for the same period reveals the following picture (see Tables 4, 5, 6). An initial increase in the numbers employed in Hosiery — especially female workers — and a drop in the numbers employed in the woollen sector, especially spinners and others.

Contrary to the above, the numbers employed in hosiery and other basically knitted goods show an increase for the 1911 -1921 period of 29.8% for females and a smaller increase by 131 persons for males, in an overall pattern of domination of female over male employees in this sector (see Table 5). Between 1911 and 1921 the biggest increase within the industry took place in the hosiery sector, accompanied by a drop in the woollen sector as we have mentioned above.

These changes in population and in employment numbers more specifically, reflect the impact of the crisis mentioned earlier in this chapter. In the different rates between the two main branches of wool, textiles and hosiery, we can see the relative success of the latter in overcoming the crisis and the former's inability to respond to it, successfully at first. To this we must add the effect of concentration due to closures and of introduction of labour saving machinery (both mentioned above as well). These reorganisation moves in capital in this sector were also reflected in employment changes in a breakdown of numbers for 1911, according to skills, as shown in Table 7.

There was a sharp fall in the number of spinners employed, as a result of the introduction of worsted yarn more extensively and the subsequent fall in demand for woollen yarn, on which local spinners depended heavily. In the category of "others" which included bleaching, dyeing and allied industries, there was also a sharp fall, reflecting not only the degree of mechanisation in the industry, but also the effect of its diminished structure on other satellite industries servicing the wool industry.

The only increase in numbers took place in the weavers' section. This makes sense since the process of restructuring involved some increased activity, also due to the introduction of new machinery in this sector.

The overall significance of these changes in employment and of the general depopulation trend is summarised in the double effect on the Borders economy:

a. the increased dependence on agriculture and textiles, both limited in job generating capacity, and as we shall see in the next chapter, continuing to shed labour; and

b. closely connected to this domination, the significant barrier to diversification, affecting development in other sectors as well, especially services, a growth sector in the post-war period which depended on female employment.

2. In Selkirk County

In this county too we can observe a steady population decline which started around 1890 with a sharp fall by 3,997 between 1891 and 1901. The subsequent small increase in the next decade of 1,245 was not big enough to counteract the previous loss, and was followed by smaller but steady decreases. This trend, seen in contrast to the trend in the previous century of increases of 159.9% in 1801-1871 and 107% in the 1851-1891 period , reveals the magnitude of change in population trends. The main changes for the period 1911-1931 are shown in Tables 8, 9, 10.

The numbers in employment dwindled also with the sharpest decreases in both male and female employees occurring in the wool textile industry, which as we have already mentioned, was particularly hard hit by the crisis. Between 1911 and 1931, male textile employees decreased from 2,663 to 1,793 and female textile employees from 2,574 to 2,022. Nevertheless, even after these falls in numbers they still represented 24.4% and 49% of total employees in the county, a percentage which shows the high dependence of the area on wool textiles.

The similarities with the main trends in Roxburgh county are evident in:

a. The high level in female employment of textile employees, which as we have already mentioned, is a handicap when trying to diversify as aiming, also, at the development of service industries where female employment is high.

b. Small variation in agricultural employment numbers, which was also dominated by male employees (only 43 women in agriculture in 1931) (Table 9). This, however, was not reflecting the true extent of involvement of women in agriculture; it was — and still is today — expected of the women in the family of agricultural workers to help with farm work. There has, therefore, always been a large, unregistered, unpaid number of female employees in agriculture.

c. We can also see from the tables an increase of about 10% in personal services, primarily by female employees, possibly also reflecting the effect of the crisis.

d. The trend was similar in the building and contracting category, which was dominated by male employees with a drop from 598 to 332 in the decades 1901-1931, also reflecting the low activity rates in this sector which have always been sensitive to crises.

e. Finally, if we look in to the various categories within the textile industry according to skills we see that the biggest decrease took place among female spinners — by -183 in 1911, while there was a rise in male employees as well as female among the weavers. See Tables 11 and 12.

It is important to note that these changes within sectors reflected internal shifts within a trend of general depopulation, which in this county, too, has affected primarily the young and childbearing part of the population, thus setting the scene for a long term imbalance in the age structure of the population in the Borders, as well as for the subsequent low birth rate, and even net death rate in the 1960's.

In the climate of deepening economic crisis of war, rising unemployment and, for the Borders, loss of significant numbers of young and active sections of the labour force, it is hardly surprising that there were no significant moves forward in the field of housing. On the contrary, as people left many houses stood empty, especially in the countryside. A big part of the existing housing stock aged and deteriorated in the absence of any significant renovation and maintenance work. It was as late as the 1950's that the Borders saw any new house-building of considerable extent and that was in the public sector. Owner occupation which had once been the important feature of working class housing, especially in Hawick, became the lowest housing sector in the 1950's and 1960's.

As we have already mentioned, lack of housing had often been blamed as an obstacle to the attraction of skilled labour for the local textile industry. In the mid 1940's the lack of good, cheap housing for labour was put forward again as one of the main obstacles to the economic regeneration of the Borders, which this time depended upon diversifying the industrial base; and in the 1960's the building

of new houses was seen as the best way to start this regeneration. This time it was not the local employers, or the members of the local bourgeoisie, or indeed the workers themselves who assumed responsibility for housing, but primarily the state through its housing and industrial development policies.

In order to grasp the differences, however, between the two periods as regards the relation of housing for labour to employment, it is necessary to have a basic knowledge of the prevailing conditions in the Borders in the post-war period in the fields of industry, population and housing.

Table 1

Dates	Persons in Employment and % of Total. (Persons over the age of 12)		
	Total	Males	Females
1901	23,485 (48,804)	12,663 (22,349)	8,824 (26,455)
1911	22,307 (47,192)	14,584 (21,583) (67.5%)	7,723 (25,609) (30.1%)
1921	22,438 (36,554)	14,665 (15,925) (92.1%)	7,773 (20,629) (37.7%)
1931	22,491	14,632	7,859

Roxburgh County

Source: Census for Scotland, 1901-1931, Roxburgh County.

Table 2

Breakdown of Numbers of Employees in Industries and % of All Persons in Employment.

Date	Textiles Numbers and %		Agriculture Numbers and %		Personal Services Numbers and %		Commercial Numbers and %		Builders Numbers and %	
	Numbers and %		Numbers and %		Numbers and %		Numbers and %		Numbers and %	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1911	2,469	2,945	4,247	977	937	2,151			1,031	7
	4,277 (19.1)		5,429 (24.2)		2,609 (11.6)		1,668 (7.4)		821 (3.7)	
1921	1,924	2,353	4,692	737	412	2,197	1,150	518	820	1
	(13.1)	(30.3)	(32.0)	(9.5)	(2.8)	(28.3)	(7.8)	(6.7)	(5.6)	(0.0)
	4,022 (17.9)		4,790 (21.3)		2,883 (12.7)		1,953 (8.7)		784 (3.3)	
1931	1,940	2,082	4,300	490	481	2,382	1,333	620	784	--
	(13.3)	(28.5)	(29.4)	(6.2)	(3.3)	(30.3)	(9.1)	(7.9)	(5.1)	(0.0)

Source: Census for Scotland, 1911-1931, Roxburgh County.

Table 3

Breakdown of Persons in Industries —
Differences from 1901 (% of Total in Employment).

	1911		Differences from 1901	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Textiles	2,469 (16.9%)	2,945 (38.1%)	?	?
Agriculture	4,247 (28.8%)	877	-2.7%	
Domestic	937	2,151 (25.1%)		-30.4%
Housebuilding Decorating	1,031	7	-13.4%	

Source: Census for Scotland, 1911, Roxburgh County.

Table 4

Numbers Engaged in Hosiery

	1911	1921	1931
Males	813	1,191	(no data)
Females	1,678	1,912	(no data)
Total	2,491	3,103	1,413*

* Hosiery frame tenders and machine knitters.

Source: Census, 1911, Roxburgh County.

Table 5

1911 Breakdown of Workers in Employment in Textiles by Sector.

Changes in Numbers According to Sector in the Textile Industry, 1901-1911.

	Both	Males	Females
Wool Industry	2,642	1,455 (-20%) 1,199	1,187 (-29.8%) 1,155
Thread, Hosiery and other Textile Industries	2,608	900 (+13%) H-813	1,708 (+29.8) H-1,678
Bleaching, Dyeing and Allied Industries	164	114	50

Roxburgh County

Source: Census, 1911, Roxburgh County.

Table 6

1901-1911 Changes in Workers in Woollen Textiles by Skills.

Males	Females
-0.5%	-12.5%

Source: Census, 1911, Roxburgh County.

Table 7

Numbers Breakdown According to Skills in Woollen Sector, 1911

Skills	Breakdown by Sex		Difference from 1901	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Weavers	527	743	+ 186	+ 1
Spinners	230	139	- 115	- 168
Others	442	273	- 382	- 313
Total Employed	1,199	1,155		

Source: Census, 1911, Roxburgh County.

Table 8

Breakdown of Numbers in Employment According to Industry (Both Sexes).

Year	Wool Textiles		Agriculture		Personal Services		Commercial		Builders	
	Total		Total		Total		Total		Total	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1911	5,237		967		702		178		598	
	2,663	2,574	878	89	--	702	178	--	598	--
1921	4,537		1,051		977		936		378	
	2,142	2,395	990	61	179	798	636	300	378	--
1931	3,815		962		1,076		1,143		332	
	1,793	2,022	919	43	208	868	795	348	332	--

Source: Census for Scotland, 1911-1931, Selkirk County.

Table 9

Total Numbers in Employment.

Percentage of Population Above 12.

	1911	1921	1931
Total (Both Sexes)	12,443	11,840	11,472
Total (Males)	7,969 (85.7%)	7,491 (92.9%)	7,344
Total (Females)	4,474 (39.7%)	4,349 (41.5%)	4,128

Source: Census for Scotland, 1911-1931, Selkirk County.

Table 10

Percentage of Total in Employment,
Engaged in Wool Textiles

Year	Both Sexes	Males	Females
1911	42.0	33.4	57.5
1921	38.3	28.6	55.1
1931	33.2	24.4	49.0

Source: Census for Scotland, 1911-1931, Selkirk County.

Table 11

Breakdown of Numbers According to Skill in Wool Textiles.

	Weavers		Spinners		Others	
Year	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1901	560	1,010	479	468	1,244	544
1911	1,071	1,735	539	285	1,053	554
1921	187	893	368	(24)	(670)	--

Source: Census for Scotland, 1911-1921, Selkirk County.

Table 12

1911 — Differences from 1901.

Numbers Engaged in Wool Textiles.

Wool Textiles	Both Sexes	Males	Females
All Connected Occupations	5,237 (+922)	2,663 (+380)	2,574 (+542)
Weavers		1,071 (+511)	1,735 (+725)
Spinners		539 (+60)	285 (-183)
Other Related Occupations		1,053	554

Source: Census for Scotland, 1911, Selkirk County.

CHAPTER 5

POPULATION, INDUSTRY AND HOUSING IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Population, Industry and Housing in the Post-War Period

Before embarking upon the closer examination of industrial development and its effect on housing during the 1960's in the region, we shall first give a brief picture of the Borders, its population and industry structure, its housing,[1] because it was in this setting that the main issues on industrial development and on Tweedbank were fought and decided upon. (This picture covers the 60's and 70's but is still dominant.)

I. Population and Urban Structure

1. According to the 1971 census the population of the Border region was 98,474. In mid 1975 it was estimated at 99,409. This small increase, however, is not representative of population trends in the region during the post-war period. Since 1951 there has been a decline by 10,000 which expresses a continuation of steady population decline since the peak of 1881-91.

This population imbalance was to a large extent the result of outward migration of young, economically active population, especially school-leavers. This, together with continuous loss of population (which seems to have been arrested only towards the mid-seventies with very insignificant gains), produced an unhealthy age structure, with 20.4% of the population over retirement age (compared with 15.3% for Scotland as a whole). This high percentage of "old" population combined with a low birth rate and a high death rate has led to the alarming phenomenon of net natural decrease (i.e. deaths exceeding births).

During the period 1971-72 there was a small gain by 106 people and during 1972-73 by 1,350. Based on the continuing small increase trend during the early 70's the Registrar General produced population projections for the period 1974-1981 which predicted a population of 102,500 by 1981 (see Table 1).

These predictions, however, were moderate and it was clear that population increases even of a small scale depended on the success of continuous efforts to attract and retain new industry, as well as on the provision of housing for labour and infrastructure. No big increase of population was planned nor predicted.

2. The region's population (1.89% of Scotland's population) is concentrated in small urban settlements and a few industrial burghs and smaller towns. Of these only Hawick and Galashiels, the two most important industrial burghs, have populations over 10,000, while at the other end of the scale some 40,000 people live in urban settlements smaller than 1,500. The map and attached table on page show the position of the main towns within each district as well as the population in each district and in the main towns. According to the numbers included in this table it is clear that the bulk of the population is concentrated in the centre of the region in the districts of Ettrick and Lauderdale, and Roxburgh, and primarily in the two main urban areas Galashiels and Hawick, including the stretch between Galashiels, Tweedbank and Melrose (1/3 of the region's population). See Tables 2 and 3 and Graph 1.

This pattern is consistent with the industrial structure of the region: Berwickshire is dominated by agriculture, primarily stock-farming, while Peebles is a favourite commuter area for Edinburgh with a small element of textile manufacturing. Agriculture has been continuously shedding off labour as a result of modernisation, as well as farm amalgamation. Consequently, population loss from the landward areas has been much greater than from the burghs where the population has remained more or less static throughout the long period of depopulation since the 1890's.

Therefore, as regards major population trends in the post-war period, the picture has not altered much since the sixties when the Borders Plan for development and Tweedbank were proposed, and can be summed up as follows:

a The region has suffered from depopulation since the peak of expansion in 1880-1890. This trend which has been acute between 1951 and 1966 seems to have slowed down in the mid-seventies when a small increase was observed. This increase, however, was not significant enough to reverse the main trend.

b Depopulation has taken place mainly in the landward areas due to increasing mechanisation in agriculture and consequent cutting down in labour. Migration from the landward areas has been outwith the region altogether. As a result the proportion of the region's urban population has risen from 47% to 61% in the mid-seventies, but this has not been the outcome of a real rise in population numbers.

(c) The existing age structure shows serious imbalance, with a high percentage of population over retirement age and under the age of fourteen. Migration of the young together with a low birth rate has produced a net natural decrease. (See Tables 2 and 3 and Graph 1.)

(d) The bulk of the existing population is living in urban settlements and is concentrated in the more industrial parts of the region in the districts of Roxburgh, and Ettrick and Lauderdale, especially in the burghs of Hawick and Galashiels.

II. Industry and Employment

1. The Industrial structure of the region is dominated by agriculture and textiles. Until the sixties this domination was more complete, as very little manufacturing industry other than textiles had penetrated the area. Compared to the rest of Scotland, the Borders still have a higher percentage in the primary sector, although this has been declining due to mechanisation, and a lower percentage of working population in the tertiary sector, especially in services (see Table 4). In the secondary sector the Borders have a higher percentage than Scotland, but when we break down these numbers into industries, then the domination by the textile industry reveals a picture of even greater disparity: of the 46.8% in manufacturing and construction, 60% are engaged in textiles, compared with 9% for Scotland. Compared with the "Textile Zone" of the West Riding and Yorkshire areas, the Borders still show a much higher percentage of all employees engaged in textiles. For the Textile Zone the percentage of all employees in textiles in 1971 was 15%, while for the Borders it was 28%.

2. There is still a high percentage of female labour: Of all local labour force, 40% are women, and about a third of all manufacturing labour force, concentrating in textiles, where the percentage can be even higher: 47% in knitwear. (On the contrary, in the services sector the percentage of women employees of the total number in employment is lower than the one in Scotland — 54% for the Borders and 70% for Scotland.)(See Graph 2.). This high percentage of women engaged in textiles is not only problematic for the industry itself in the long run, as it is more and more difficult to attract young girls and young married women (the lack of suitable services for working mothers being a serious handicap), but also, it is a handicap for further development of the services sector and for diversification of the economy through the attraction of some light manufacturing industry (depending also heavily on female labour, e.g. manufacturing of components).

3. The great lack in different opportunities for employment for young school-leavers, as well as the absence in the region of technical colleges, polytechnics, and training facilities, apprenticeship opportunities, etc., has led to high outward migration of young school-leavers with grave results on the population structure, and adverse effects on chances for attracting industry which depends on young, able to train-on-the-job workforce.

Nevertheless, despite the handicaps, some new industry has settled in the Borders since the 60's, employing 2,900 people (see Table 5). These firms, six of which are major electronics firms, accounting for 7% of the jobs in manufacturing firms), have not been

strong enough to force a change in the region's great imbalances mentioned above, although they have contributed to some diversification of the industrial base. In particular, female employment is still high — the firms already established using only 53% male employees in 1973 and with predictions of declining percentages in males. The problem, therefore, which had existed in 1965 when the government in the White Papers urged for the need to bring in workers' families who would provide the textile industry with daughters and wives, exists as a problem for the more recently established other manufacturing firms.

Let us now take a closer look at the two main industries, namely agriculture and textiles:

4. Agriculture

Agriculture, which claims 85% of the region's surface area, has developed more on the eastern side of the Borders. The predominant characteristics are as follows:

a. A base rich in physical resources and large farm units (the largest farm units in Scotland).

b. Domination by large estates and leasing of farm land: 46% or even up to 80% of land is rented. Stock farming is by far the biggest sector with some cultivation of barley, potatoes and garden vegetables also present.

c. High degree of mechanisation: compared to 3% of all economically active population for Scotland engaged in agriculture, the Borders region with

11% is still rating high. Of this 11%, 96% is male, but 14% are members of the farm occupier's family.

So although there has been a high degree of mechanisation, the labour employed directly in agriculture is still high. Moreover, one has to take into account the impact of agriculture on employment through servicing needs of this industry. Nevertheless, there is evidence that labour productivity has risen, and together with greater farm efficiency and growing farm units, it has had an overall impact on the level of employment in this sector. Throughout the 60's there has been a continuing loss of labour from agriculture (an average of over 200/ year in the mid and late 60's). In the beginning of the 19th century the population who left agriculture formed the first labour force for the new, developing textile industry. In the 1960's this labour was lost to the Borders altogether.

d. Together with a loss in agricultural jobs, there is a high percentage of employees above the age of 50 and a low intake of young farm workers. The age structure of agricultural employees looks very unhealthy indeed, and the future rising numbers of retirals creates a need for training and recruiting schemes for the young, as well as housing problems concerning the retired farm workers, and other services needed by retired people.

There have been efforts to diversify within the sector and to create industries which would retain the labour force shed by agriculture, as well as attracting the younger recruits: this has been done by offering training facilities for the young, and by developing the production of vegetables and soft fruit for quick freezing, in the

areas of Kelso, Coldstream and Eyemouth. Seventy-nine percent of this production concentrated on peas, and quick freezing of peas, amounting to 29% of Scotland's pea hectarage in 1974. This has led to the creation of 200 jobs and further expansion has been envisaged.

Nevertheless, the job generating capacity is still very low, and as we have mentioned in the previous short section on population, it is the landward areas which have suffered most from depopulation.

5. Textiles

The Border textile industry has maintained some of its old characteristics, but the changes are deep and crucial for the region's overall development.

The old division of branches corresponding to spatial division of production is still present in the 60's and 70's.

a. Worsted and woollens is based in Galashiels, Hawick, Selkirk, Innerleithen, Peebles and Walkerburn. For many years it has kept its fame for high quality in material and design, as well as its fragmented organisational structure. Its domination on the environment is also present. The town of Galashiels in particular, which depended heavily on this sector, has expanded along the narrow Tweed valley which was chosen by the industry in the nineteenth century for its water supply as driving power as well as for its softness, crucial in the dyeing process. The town, which could have exploited environmentally the space near the river, is a rather ugly example of small industrial burgh of the past, with a polluted river and an equally ugly riverfront. Its very location

causes problems for expansion. Nevertheless, one meets nothing of the immensity of environmental problems of the big and declining industrial centres, and the surrounding countryside, so easily accessible, softens the unimaginative housing of the town. Seven miles up the road, Selkirk, also closely related to the textile woolen industry, appears like a very similar(though more attractive in setting and scenery) town, but to the old Galashiels inhabitants, is like a world of its own. This attitude, which carries with it many characteristics of the past competitiveness of the industry identified spatially as well, and the famous rivalry of the Border towns. Seen from the standpoint of local fares, common ridings and other festivities, this rivalry may appear charming and a reason for local pride. Seen from the standpoint of developing industry on a regional basis, or from the standpoint of organising labour, it is a distinct disadvantage.

b. Similar comments would apply to Hawick, the seat of the knitwear industry, although some woollen firms are also based here. This sector accounted for 1/3 of textile employees in the Borders, and 84% of manufacturing sector employees (in 1971). Far from the highly fragmented picture which persisted right up to the middle of the nineteenth century, with the proud stocking-makers refusing to submit to the laws and logic of factory production, the low level of mechanisation and the upheavals of the strong wave of liberalism, the industry is showing a different picture in the 70's. Highly concentrated under "Dawson International" (who stands behind old familiar names like Pringles, Braemar, Ballantynes), the knitwear industry in Hawick (or Dawson City as some workers call it) has undergone great modernisation, shedding labour and threatening small communities like Selkirk and Walkerburn with wide-

spread unemployment right into the recession of the 70's. As we shall see further on in this section, there are other, though not of the same magnitude, textile firms and mergers in this sector and in Hawick itself. Nevertheless, in terms of employment, Dawson International, who have retained profitability and strong export position throughout the 60's and 70's have been very important for the area.

Female labour is still very high in Hawick and the knitwear industry as a whole.

The differences, from the past, which already were setting in during the interwar period following the industry's great crisis after the 1890's, are equally great.

The industry in both branches is more capital intensive and, as already mentioned, has lost much of its fragmented structure, although the woolen sector is still dominated by a number of competitive firms. As a result of the changes in this branch the job creation potential has been limited. Penetration by synthetic fibres giants has taken place only to a limited extent (an example is the deal in the early seventies between one of the Ballantynes and Bayer for the production of synthetic house furnishings). The recession of the 70's has hit this branch quite hard leading to closures and redundancies (Selkirk alone has lost 300 jobs). However, the introduction of new light manufacturing firms and electronics in Galashiels has contributed to a reduction in the woolen sector's domination of the employment scene. Nevertheless, the more recent percentage of nearly 45% is still very high.

As already mentioned, Hawick, with almost 80% of all manufacturing jobs in textiles, has been the centre for redundancies and closures due to take overs and preceding rationalisation by Dawson International. Between 1968 and 1973-74 this meant a loss of 36% of knitwear jobs and 600 more in the period 1974-1975, as well as 180 weaving jobs in the same period.

When we consider the role of agriculture and textiles in the narrowing of job opportunities for the region, as well as in the loss of population it becomes clear that the problems facing the Borders, as they were put forward in the White Paper, are in fact the result of the increasing efficiency and degree of mechanisation in these two dominating industries. Moreover, in the light of the subsequent closures and further loss of jobs, the claims by the development agents in the late 1960's that new population would be necessary in order to diversify the structure and provide the local textile industry with a pool of labour, without which the industry would not be able to expand any further, show at least a misconception of the importance of turning more capital rather than labour intensive during the 1970's.

III. Housing

The housing scene in the Borders in the 1960's and 1970's, and especially in the industrial towns of Hawick and Galashiels, is quite different from that of the 1890's. The lack of good and cheap housing is still considered to be a major handicap to industrial expansion

like it was in the 1860's and 1890's. The burden, however, of producing such housing for the local working class and managerial and key workers is now assumed to lie on the state. This fundamental change in the realm of reproduction of labour power — namely the involvement of the state — has far-reaching effects on the housing scene, both in Scotland in general and in the Borders in particular.

1. Houses and Households

Despite the decline in the population figures, already mentioned above in this chapter, the number of households has increased by 9% within the period 1951-1971. This increase is primarily due to a decrease in average household size. The high percentage of small (one and two persons) households in the region is most likely related to the high percentage of retired people, of whom a big number live alone (at least 1/4) and nearly 8,000 live in landward areas where facilities are scarce.

On the whole, this expansion of households has taken part in the burghs and larger villages with a decline in rural areas. Closely following this increase in number of households, there has also been an increase in the number of occupied dwellings by 3.9% in the decade 1961-1971. (See Table 6 and Graph 3.)

The increase in the total number of dwellings, however, was larger (7.8%), including an increase in vacant dwellings by almost 150%, of which 2/3 are located in the landward areas, probably sub-standard, or too isolated farm cottages, or abandoned houses due to depopulation from the landward areas, which as we have seen was the main area of depopulation.

There is also evidence that in the average Border's household there is more room space per person, compared to 1951, although it still falls short of the average for the United Kingdom (see Figure 20, p. 11, in The Borders Region 1974). Moreover, the majority of smaller houses are concentrated in Hawick and Galashiels, while most of the larger houses are to be found in the landward areas.

The overall number of dwellings in 1971 was 39,160 — 35,900 occupied and 3,260 vacant.

2. Tenure — Differences within Borders, Differences with Scotland and the United Kingdom

a. The private rented sector is still very high in the Borders (26%), and much higher than in Scotland (16%) and Britain (19%). This persistence of high numbers in the sector (despite a decrease in the decade 1961-1971, which depends, however, on the reduction of the housing stock due to demolition or improvement), can be explained by the high numbers of tied cottages in the rural areas. This becomes clearer when we consider the location of the majority of the houses of this sector in the landward areas (see Graph 4). This sector also has a big percentage of substandard housing, some of which is located in the industrial towns as well.

b. The Borders had a slightly higher proportion of owner occupied dwellings than Scotland, both falling short of Britain: 34% and 31% respectively, compared to 51%. These figures, however, can be misleading if we do not take into consideration that:

Scotland's lower figure compared to Britain reflects a much bigger domination of the tenure scene by local authority housing (53% on the average and in some parts as high as 70%), while in the Borders' case, it reflects a higher percentage in the privately rented sector and a lower than Scotland percentage in the public sector (see Graph 5).

But what clarifies the picture as to owner occupation in the Borders are:

i. the low stock of post-1914 houses in the private sector, which indicates that a large number of houses under owner occupation are the remains of the once flourishing private sector especially in Hawick, and to a lesser extent in Galashiels;

ii. the slow increase since 1961 in this sector by only 16%, compared to 35% for Scotland and 24% for Britain;

iii. the shortage of houses in the low price range among new housing, which is due to low performance by the Border building industry, and the lack of interest in building for the lower end of the market, as it is less profitable, especially in a rural and isolated area, due to costs of materials, labour, etc.;

iv. closely connected with the above is the high percentage of substandard houses which are bought at the cheap end of the market for owner occupation; the location of the majority of these houses within the industrial towns (about 3/4 of the tenements sold for less than 1,000 in 1972;

and finally, the fact that such houses were bought by persons with addresses from within the Borders.

All the above indicate not only that owner occupation is not an expanding sector within the Borders, but also that there is a marked difference between owner occupation for the low income groups and owner occupation for the higher income groups. The former, given the wage structure of the Borders and the need to cut down in travelling time and expenses to and from work, includes mostly workers (and retired workers), the majority of whom as we already have shown are with the textile industry. The second includes the local bourgeoisie and wealthier part of the middle classes, small shopkeepers, white collar workers, etc. But also, given the high percentage of the houses in the landward area bought by people outwith the region, includes a big chunk of commuters, and, to a larger extent, second homes for week-end and holiday purposes.

To complete the picture, we must add the overall number of improvement grants: 5,500, 79% of which were made during the 70's, the peak year being 1973, due to the raising up to 75% of the discretionary grant given to private owners. Only 30% of all the grants were given to the two industrial towns which have the majority of substandard housing.

c. The public sector: As we have already pointed out above, the Borders have a lower percentage of public housing (41%) than Scotland (53%, and in some parts much higher). However, the role of the private sector in the Borders can be understood better if we look

into the house completions level. Although the overall rate of completions in the Borders was lower than Scotland in the decade of the sixties (17% of the region's housing compared with 21% stock), the majority of the house completions in the Borders was in the public sector, with a high performance of the SSHA, while in Scotland this was due to the increased performance in the private sector. Especially in the years 1971-1975 house completions in the public sector have been rising in the Borders, compared with falling performance in Scotland. In particular, completions by the SSHA rose from 34 in 1971, to 351 in 1975 (Regional Report 1976), while in 1974 alone a total of 1,042 houses were completed (all sectors included). The highest level of completions was achieved between 1967 and 1970, at a rate of 800 houses per annum, but in the peak year of 1969-1970 this record again depended mostly on SSHA performance.

3. Housing Conditions

On the whole, housing conditions have considerably improved since 1950. This has been achieved by a combination of housing policies — demolition and modernisation, and new building. On this last one, as we have seen, there has been a low rate of 17% (of the region's stock) in the decade of the sixties, which indicated that in the early seventies at least, there was still a considerable size of housing stock older than in Scotland as a whole. This has put a burden on local authorities for upgrading work on older stock, and as is mentioned in the region's report (1975), as well as in the earlier document, "Action Plan for Development," a lot of this modernisation

work has been delayed due to delays in carrying out road improvements, which in some cases (as in Galashiels and Jedburgh) have contributed to further deterioration of the fabric of buildings and the environment.

In more detail:

a. Due to the already mentioned rise in the number of households there are virtually no households sharing a house. Also, the number of persons per room dropped drastically in the decades 1950-1970;

b. Although the number of houses lacking basic amenities was halved during these two decades (from 5,669 in 1951 to 2,335 in 1971), the percentage of such households in the two industrial towns of Hawick and Galashiels has increased from 37% in 1951 to 55% in 1971. This has been the result of a boost in improvement grants concentrating basically in the landward areas, probably taken up by commuters and holiday home owners, as well as a lack of local authority action to the extent that would suffice to eradicate the problem. Nevertheless, if we consider that 17% of the Borders' housing stock lacks basic amenities (compared with 8% for Britain as a whole), keeping in mind what we have mentioned above, namely that there is a concentration of the cheap, substandard private housing which gets sold, in these two towns, we can understand that the legacy of substandard housing concentration in these two towns is a complicated phenomenon. It includes both the influence of general housing policy as regards mortgages, improvement grants, etc. (which, if we want to go further, is also linked with incomes), as well as clearance policy versus modernisation, which fluctuated during the sixties.

(See Graph 6 and Table 7.)

By the mid seventies the role of the housing associations had started being promoted in improvement, and toward the end of the 70's the new, increased improvement grants in "action areas" appeared to be offering more incentives for housing improvements. There has been little evidence that these changes have been taken up by the two towns in the Borders, although local developers have caught on to the profitability potential of these provisions and have been buying old tenemental property, converting it, modernising it and putting it back on the market.

To conclude, there is a clear concentration of housing "below the tolerable standard" (63% of all such houses) in Hawick and Galashiels, while "in the other small burghs and landward areas, such houses are fewer in number, less concentrated and not subject to the same environmental problems. Individual improvement there has been a much more feasible solution. Furthermore, certain burghs and parts of landward areas have experienced such a demand for housing that almost any substandard property has been bought for the purpose of improvement." (The Borders Region 1975 p.13)

Concluding Remarks

1. The housing scene in the Borders in the mid seventies (and with respect to the industrial towns of Hawick and Galashiels), could be summed up as follows: As regards tenure, there is still a strong presence of privately owned housing, which, however, reflects the high percentage of tied cottages in agriculture. The owner occupied sector is much lower than the needs of the region would welcome. Its makeup is varied, and consists of:

a. incoming households for retirement purposes (a big part of it in the Peebles area);

b. holiday houses, especially in small villages and the landward areas;

c. commuter households, either from Edinburgh (Peebles, Lauderdale), or from Berwick-on-Tweed, or for people with no fixed place of work, e.g. travelling representatives, covering the central belt and/or Northern England.

In all of the above cases, householders can afford high or medium priced houses, thus making competition for local young households impossible, and either pushing them out, or pushing them into substandard property at the cheap end within the industrial towns.

d. Substandard tenemental property in the industrial towns: the combination of high prices for good property, lower wages than the Scottish as a whole, and lower mortgages than the average for Britain in comparable figures makes it difficult for the locals to buy modern property, Incoming workers, who may have been living in owner occupied accommodation in parts where housing may also have been cheaper than in the Borders, have to depend on local authority housing or go for cheaper, substandard property.

The increase by nearly 30% in the average price of properties between 1972-73 (compared with 17% for Scotland and 10% for the United Kingdom) in a house market, which in some sectors has already had prices above the Scottish average, did not make prospects for low income households any brighter. (See Table 8.)

2. In contrast to the above, the public sector has played an important role, especially through the use of the SSHA, in building for industrial development, with a higher than Scotland rate of completion in the early seventies. Even under these conditions of active presence of the SSHA there still 3,543 persons on the waiting lists of local authorities, and SSHA, in 1973, including transfers. Given the depopulation problem of the Borders, waiting lists in the public sector mean difficulties in retaining the local young households, as well as in attracting incoming workers.

In the mid sixties, when the Borders were given a stake in the development scene, these problems with housing were in the front line. Given the behaviour of the private building industry and the absence of any strong interest in the area to build in the lower end of the market, it was even suggested that the SSHA should consider building for owner occupation as well. At any rate, the building of houses only for incoming workers was considered to be vital, and as we shall see in more detail, work was to begin as soon as possible after the publication of the White Paper. In 1976 the Borders Regional Report summed up the difficulties involved in such an exercise of matching up people to houses for the future without having any control on industry and the economy:

> A drive to meet the region's housing needs, including the commencement of Tweedbank, is now producing houses, but for the past 18 months there have been job losses, short-time working, and postponement of local authority improvement plans. It has been difficult to plan and implement a house building programme in step with changes in employment and the economy, and this disparity is more obvious now that new houses stand vacant than it was when house waiting lists were long.

THE BORDERS REGION

Population 1975

Borders Region	99,409
Berwickshire	17,513
Ettrick and Lauderdale	32,164
Roxburgh	35,855
Tweeddale	13,877

Source: Registrar General, 1976 .

District:	BERWICKSHIRE		ETTRICK & LAUDERDALE	
Area:	875 km^2 (3385 sq m)		1356 km^2 (524 sq m)	
Population:	17,435		32,297	
Retired:	22%		20%	
Under 14:	21%		22%	
	Towns	Population	Towns	Population
	Duns	1902	Galashiels	12788
	Coldstream	1429	Selkirk	5628
	Eyemouth	2797	Melrose	2181
	Chirnside	1100		
	Total	7228	Total	20697

District:	ROXBURGH		TWEEDDALE	
Area:	1540 km^2 (595 sq m)		899 km^2 (3475 sq m)	
Population:	35,789		13,584	
Retired:	20%		23%	
Under 14:	23%		22%	
	Towns	Population	Towns	Population
	Hawick	16378	Peebles	6064
	Kelso	4967	Innerleithen	2304
	Jedburgh	3917		
	Total	25262	Total	8368

Table

Spatial Distribution of Populations
(1974)

YEAR	BORDERS	TWEEDDALE	ETTRICK AND LAUDERDALE	ROXBURGH	BERWICKSHIRE
1974	99,105	13,584	32,297	35,789	17,435
1981	102,500	14,437	32,205	36,686	19,172
Total Change 1974-1981	+3,395	+ 853	- 92	+ 897	+1,737
Natural Change 1974-1981	-1,591	- 205	- 470	- 537	- 379
Net Migration 1974-1981	+4,900	+1,050*	+ 350*	+1,400*	+2,100*

Table 1

Population Change in the Borders 1974-1981

Source: Registrar General for Scotland.

Age Group	(A) 1951 Borders %	(A) as % of (B)	(B) 1951 Scotland %	(C) 1961 Borders %	(C) as % of (D)	(D) 1961 Scotland %	(E) 1971 Borders %	(E) as % of (F)	(F) 1971 Scotland %
0-14	21.3	86.2	24.7	22.7	87.6	25.9	22.8	87.7	26.0
15-44	40.2	93.5	43.0	15.4	90.1	39.3	34.9	90.6	38.5
45-59 (F) 45-64 (M)	21.9	110.1	19.9	23.8	111.2	21.4	21.9	108.4	20.2
60 (F), 65 (M) +	16.6	133.9	12.4	18.1	135.1	13.4	20.4	133.4	15.3

Table 2

Change in Age Structure 1951-1971, Borders and Scotland

Source: Census of 1951, 61, 71, "The Borders Region 1975," p. 4.

THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

BIRTH RATES (per 1000 population)				MARRIAGE RATES			DEATH RATES		
	Scotland	Borders	Borders as % of Scotland	Scotland	Borders	Borders as % of Scotland	Scotland	Borders	Borders as % of Scotland
1951-1955	17.8	14.7	82.1	8.1	6.3	77.2	12.1	14.2	117.6
1956-1960	19.1	14.7	76.9	8.1	6.3	78.5	12.0	14.3	119.0
1961-1965	19.7	15.7	79.4	7.7	6.6	86.0	12.2	15.0	122.9
1966-1970	17.9	15.2	84.7	8.2	7.4	90.3	12.1	14.6	120.3
1971-1972	15.9	13.9	87.4	8.1	7.0	86.5	12.2	14.8	122.0
1973	14.3	12.4	86.7	8.1	7.0	86.5	12.4	15.3	123.4

Table 3

Birth, Marriage and Death Rates 1951-1973

Source: Annual Reports-Register General for Scotland, "The Borders Region of 1975," p. 4.

The Borders: Numbers Employed as a Percentage of Total in Employment

Date	PRIMARY				MANUFACTURE & CONSTRUCTION				SERVICES			
	Scotland	Borders		Index of Change	Scotland	Borders		Index of Change	Scotland	Borders		Index of Change
	%	%	Number	*	%	%	Number	*	%	%	Number	*
1961	8.7	18.5	7,589	100	43.2	44.6	18,349	100	48.1	36.9	15,185	100
1966	6.1	15.8	6,476	122	44.0	46.7	19,123	103	49.9	37.5	15,333	98
1971	4.7	12.4	4,497	124	41.3	45.2	16,362	106	54.0	42.4	15,375	102
1973	3.8	11.3	4,332	140	40.7	41.8	17,961	111	55.5	41.9	16,066	98

Table 4

*Statistics taken as Base 100 Comparing Borders with Scotland.

Source: Department of Employment (reproduced in The Borders Region 1975, p. 5).

Effect of New Major Manufacturing Industry on Employment Structure 1968-1973

Type of Industry	New Major Industries 1968-1973			Total Major Industries		
	No. of Firms	1973 Jobs	%	No. of Firms	1973 Jobs	%
Food	6	366	12.5	14	688	4.9
Engineering	5	165	5.7	14	1,126	8.0
Electronics	6	1,000	34.2	6	1,000	7.1
Textiles	11	863	29.6	61	9,102	65.0
Leather	3	119	4.1	5	317	2.3
Clothing	1	12	0.4	6	262	1.8
Timber	0	0	--	3	148	1.1
Printing	3	178	6.1	7	290	2.1
Construction	3	61	2.1	14	918	6.6
Other	9	156	5.3	9	156	1.1
Total	47	2,920	100.0	139		100.0

Source: Survey of Major Manufacturing and Construction Firms, JPAL & EBBA 1973 (reproduced in "The Borders Region 1975," p. 8).

Table 5

Table 6

Percentage of Households by Number of Persons 1951-1971

Persons	Borders			Great Britain
	1951	1961	1971	1971
1 & 2	40.2%	47.2%	53.4%	49.1%
3 & 4	41.4%	37.8%	33.7%	35.2%
5 or more	17.3%	15.0%	12.9%	14.3%
Total Households	32,574	34,201	35,340	*

Source: Census of 1951, 61, 71

Table 7

Dwellings Below Tolerable Standard, 1969 & 1974

	1969		1974		% of Residential Inhabited Dwellings
	No.	%	No.	%	
Borders	5,584	100	2,709	100	100
Hawick & Galashiels	3,358	60	1,700	62	30
Other Small Burghs	1,128	20	476	18	32
Landward	1,098	20	533	20	38

Source: Border Local Authorities

Table 8

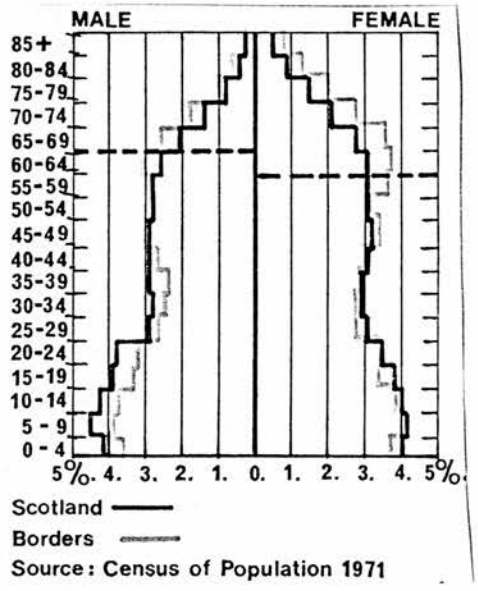
House Prices in 1973

	Average Price 1973	Increase 1972-1973	% Increase 1972-1973
U.K.	9,900	900	10
Scotland	8,300	1,200	17
Borders	6,700	1,500	29

Sources: Nationwide, Bradford & Bingley
Leicester Permanent, Scottish Alliance,
Universal Building Societies

Graph 1

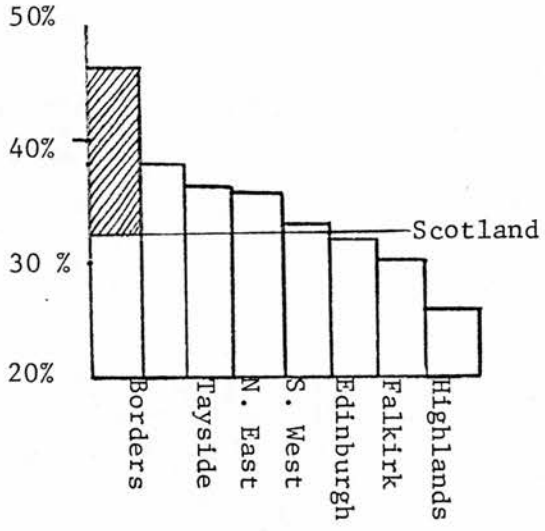
Age/Sex Structure 1971, Borders and Scotland



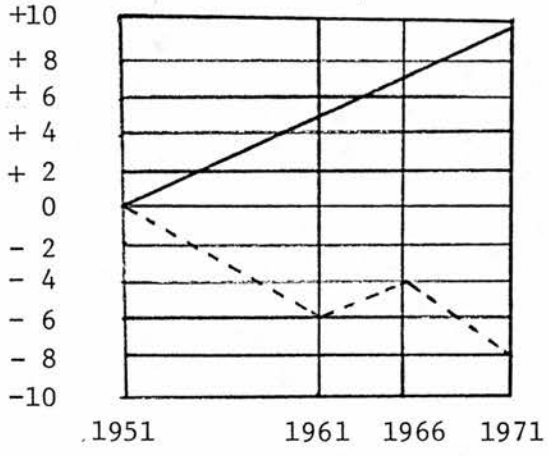
Source: Census of Population, 1971, reproduced in The Borders Region 1975, p. 4.

Graph 2

Females/Manufacturing: Numbers Employed in 1971 as % of Total Employees in Manufacturing



Source: Table 71, Scottish Abstract of Statistics, 1973. Reproduced in "The Borders Region, 1975," p. 7.

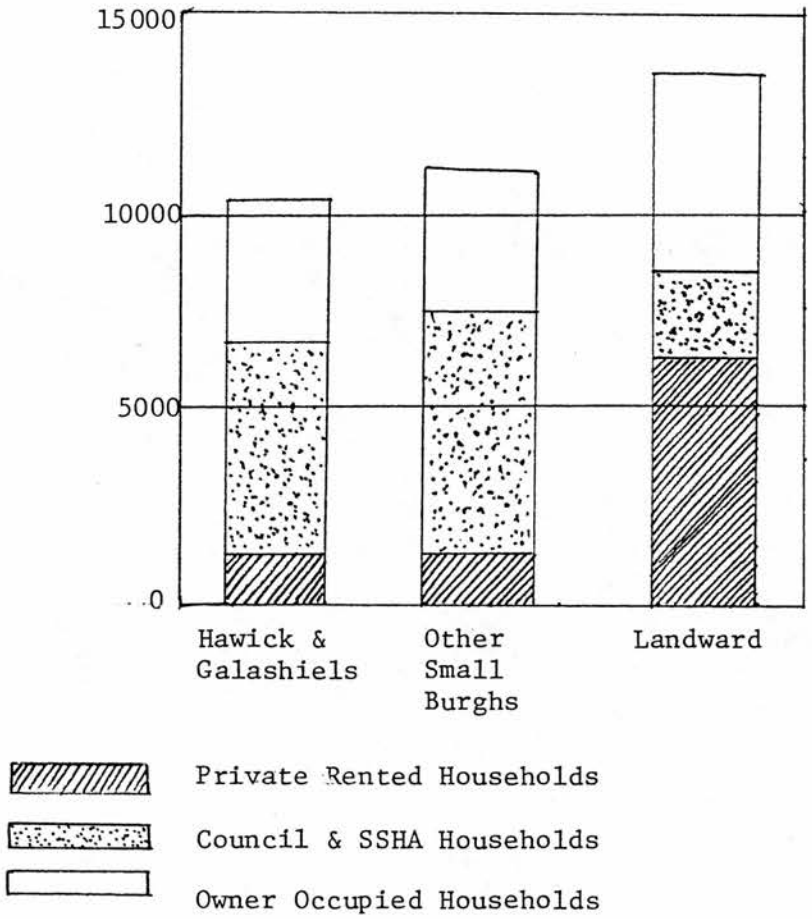


Graph 3

Percentage Change: Population and Households Borders Region, 1951-1971

Source: Census of 1951, 61, 66, 71

Reproduced in "Borders Region, 1975."



The Tenure Situation 1971: Borders Subdivisions

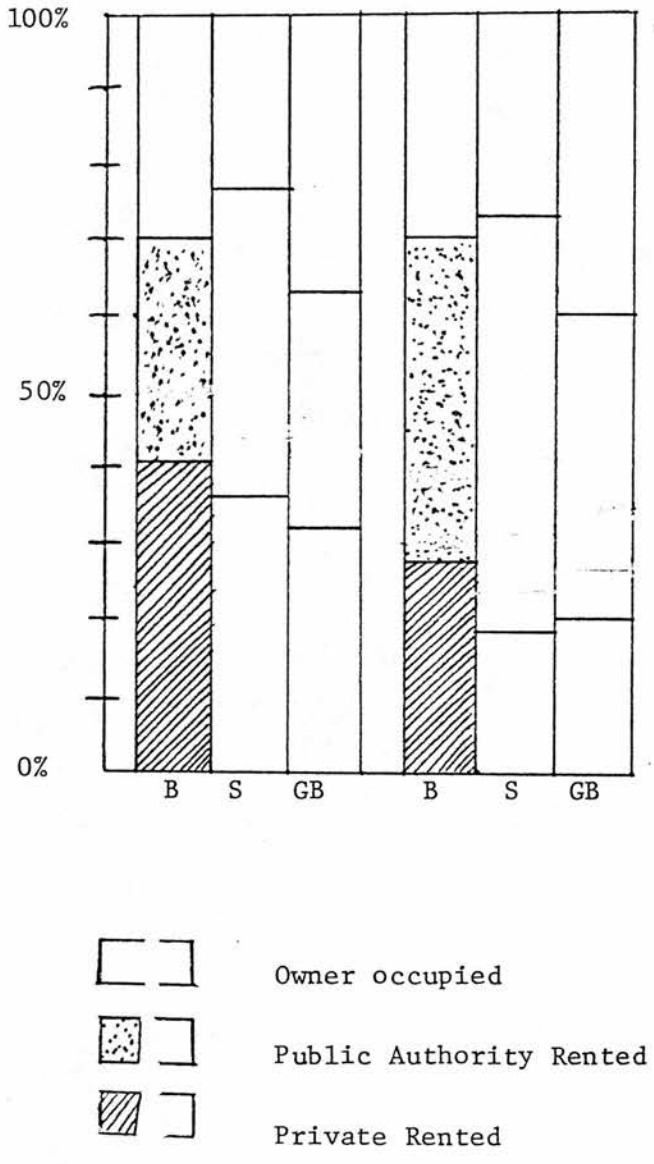
Graph 4

Source: Census 1971, Reproduced in "Profile of the Borders," 1974.

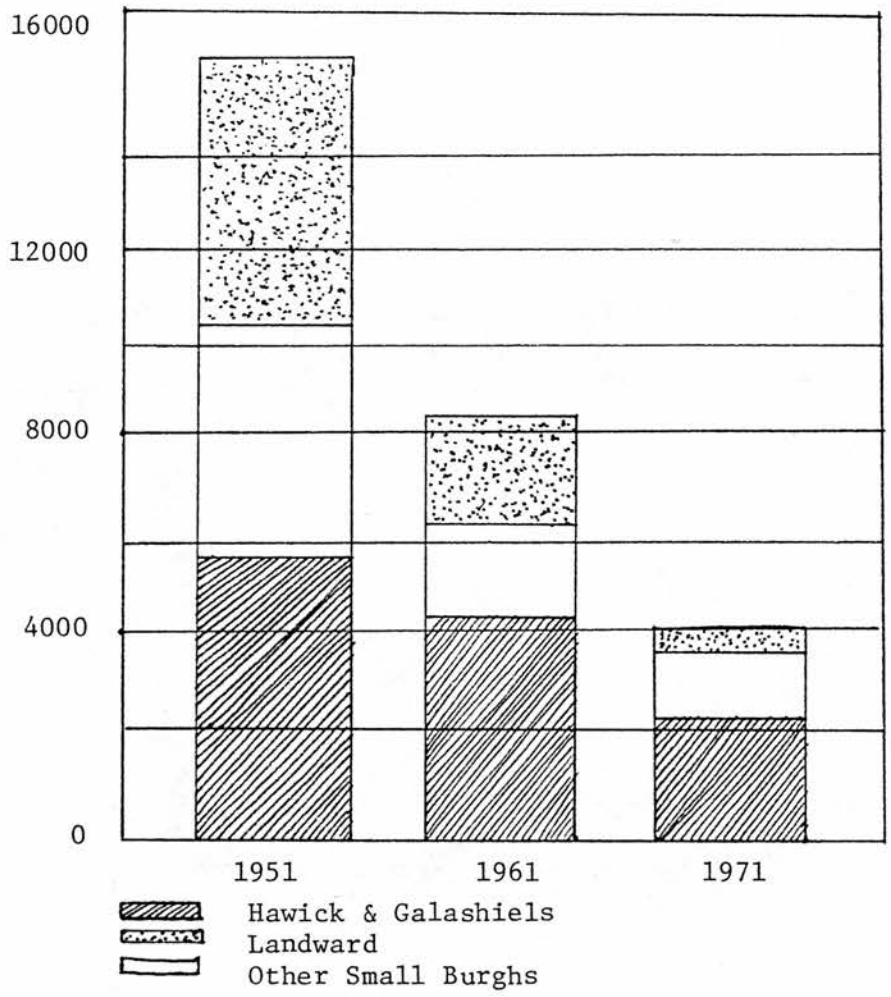
Graph 5

The Changing Tenure Situation, 1961-1971

The Borders, Scotland and Great Britain Compared



Source: Census of Population (reproduced in The Borders Region 1974).



Households Lacking or Sharking Amenities,
1951-1971, The Borders

Graph 6

Source: Census of 1951, 61, 71

CHAPTER 6

HOUSING AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE BORDERS DURING THE 1960s

Housing and Development in the Borders During the 1960's

Introductory Remarks

The trends of narrowing industrial base, depopulation and social isolation, which were established in the period following the industry's decline and reorganisation, continued well into the post-war period. The Borders took their place within an expanding economy as an "underdeveloped region." The decade 1951-1961 was the worst in depopulation since the big crisis of 1891-1901, and the highest ever for the counties of Berwick and Peebles. The declining percentage of population in active age, together with the high percentage of people over retirement age, did not only affect the region's potential for industrial development, but created further problems for the provision of suitable services throughout the region, as such services became too costly for the local state to support. The absence of one major spatial focus, a city, was seen by the "experts" as a serious impediment to the development of new industry, services, etc. (see the White Paper and the Central Borders Plan, "The Scottish Economy 1965-1970: A Plan for Expansion").

The local textile industry, which was still concentrated spatially in Galashiels, Selkirk, Hawick, had managed to survive and to retain a good export position. But as its labour force (still consisting by a large percentage of female labour), was ageing and familiar noises from the past, expressing fears about the effect of labour shortage were heard. Throughout the 1950's various

attempts were made by individual local authorities to attract industry and local pressure groups knocked on the state's door for a share in the industrial development incentives game, but without much result. As we shall see in more detail in the following chapter, the prevailing trends in industrial development rationale did not help much. Finally, after a last minute effort, the Borders appeared in the Government's White Paper, "The Scottish Economy 1965-1970: A Plan for Expansion." In the regional study which was carried out by the Scottish Office, with the cooperation of the local textile industry, the region's problems of depopulation and narrow industrial base were examined, brought to light, and a number of suggestions were made as to the character of suitable economic development. As a sign of the Government's commitment to the development in the Borders work was to start at once in a site already chosen near Galashiels, for the provision of housing and industrial units, while a team of planners and economists at Edinburgh University were asked to produce within narrow time limits a plan for development in the Borders. The main task was to advise on how the population of 25,000 incomers (which was seen as the number necessary to create a base for population growth and attracting industry) was to be distributed in a region dominated by agriculture and including areas which were already classified by the Secretary of State for Scotland as "of high amenity" and "of great landscape value."

It is clear that we are dealing here with a different concept of industrial development than that of the 1860's. We could call it a development "imposed from above," or "from outside," or "imported." But such terms, apart from suggesting a very rigid,

structuralist approach to state action of this sort, can also create the wrong impression that local interest in industrial development was either nonexistent or totally negative. Far from it. Efforts to attract new industry had started ten years before the White Paper appeared. Local Authority plans had existed since the 50's, including both suggestions for industry and action on the housing front (primarily dealing with old stock and new local authority house building). Some industry which was attracted before the sixties in Jedburgh, for example, was due to the efforts of local authority. In the first post-war plan for economic development, in the Mears Report of 1945, the Borders were mentioned and attention was drawn to the lack of housing as a serious impediment to growth in the area. Later on local industrialists and landowners joined in pressure group activity pushing for the recognition of the Borders as a development area. In the mid 60's two development offices were set up with the purpose of aiding the attraction of new industry in the form of a concerted "Border Build-up Campaign."

When the door finally was opened and the government made a commitment locally in the form of the "Tweedbank Development," the reaction from the Borders was mixed and was dominated for five years by action against the proposals, public inquiries, pressure group work locally and even from Border fans from abroad, press reports and bitter opposition in court.

Conflict which was both bitter and prolonged, at first focused on the proposed Tweedbank development at Darnick close to Galashiels, and later on, when the Central Borders Plan was published in 1968,

against the main proposals in the plan as well. Finally, despite the opposition, the Tweedbank proposal was given the go ahead and work was started on it. The Central Borders Plan was adopted with some modifications by all local authorities, but proved to be a non-starter.

Ten years later the Central Borders Plan was characterised as "too ambitious" by the new regional planning authority (following reorganisation for Scotland in 1975), and a more "cautious approach" was suggested in the present economic climate and rate of inflation which "make forecasting hazardous." Nevertheless, SSHA commitment in the Tweedbank housebuilding programme was to continue. In 1980 this stopped, as the SSHA was called out and shifted to Glasgow inner city renewal which had become now the focus of housing policy. Tweedbank, consisting of nearly 234 houses (and little else apart from a bleak landscape planted in the middle of the Border countryside of "great landscape value") continued to struggle for community identity. This included the organising of fairs and events around the school centres, or fighting against losing the only local shop. Its population, consisting mainly of some incoming workers who work in Galashiels, some old age pensioners, and a few students from the Scottish College of Textiles (also in Galashiels), exists today between their housing uphill and the not-so-easy-to-get-integrated-into- small town of Galashiels, a mile down the road.

Although some industry, primarily light manufacturing and electronics, has come in, diversifying the Galashiels industrial base

to a small extent, no great shift of population has taken place to the benefit of the region. Indeed, after a small pause, depopulation has started again in the late seventies, aided by a wave of closures and shedding of labour by the textile industry; this very industry that voiced strong worries about its ageing labour force and presented the lack of labour locally as an impediment to growth.

It is difficult in the light of hindsight not to diverge into remarks about how far away the glorious past appears to be, especially in the light of the not-so-glorious aspects of this past which seem to persist, despite the efforts of "enlightened" planners with new planning techniques such as "threshold analysis" under their sleeves. Indeed it is these aspects of persisting old forms of social relations and industrialpractices which have spurred some critics to talk of feudal remnants in the area. Also, in the course of examining closer the Tweedbank conflict and the planning suggestions, it is hard not to diverge into all sorts of assumptions about who chose Tweedbank and why, especially as the report which justified Tweedbank as a suitable sight came after the decision had been made, and is still confidential and nowhere to be seen today.

Nevertheless, even without having answers to such questions (which as was suggested by a commentator, would still make an interesting piece for the "Scotsman"), we believe that our main aim can be fulfilled: Namely, the analysis of the relation between housing and employment through different forms of industrial development. Here, however, in contrast to the first section, the analysis is much closer related to an understanding of state policy, and more

specifically, industrial development and housing policy. This is not to say that the state and its policies were of no importance in the period examined in part one. Nevertheless, the relation we are trying to analyze is far more mediated by the state in the 1960's than in the 1860's and 1890's. Indeed, the difference in the degree and form of state intervention is part of the theoretical problematic of the analysis.

I. State Intervention in Housing and Employment: The Problems of Economic Regeneration of the Borders and the Role of Housing

1. The Background: Changes in Regional Development Policy

In 1966, under the title "The Scottish Economy 1965-1970" the White Paper Cmnd 2864 put forward the plans for the expansion of the Scottish economy: "Their aim is to speed up the evolution of a modern industrial structure in Scotland, providing more jobs and stemming the outward flow of young Scots to the south." [1]

The inclusion of the Borders in these plans for expansion and the qualification of the region as eligible for development aid must be seen against the general trends in regional policy for Scotland in the 1960's.

Spatially, the proposals in the White Paper embraced Central Scotland, the Borders, the South-West, the North-East and the Highlands and Islands; that is, the whole of Scotland except Edinburgh. In its approach, main aims and proposals it embraced the "new outlook" for regional policy and development, as it had developed in the 1960's.

This turn in policy included a major shift away from the relief of unemployment towards the notion of overall regional economic growth. Its main expression in the Report on the Scottish Economy, 1960-1961 by the Toothill Committee found official recognition in two White Papers of 1963: a. Central Scotland: A Programme for

Development and Growth, Cmnd 2188; and b. The North-East: A Programme for Development and Growth, Cmnd 2206. These two White Papers promoted the view that: 1. regional policy should be directed towards the promotion of overall regional economic growth; and 2. there should be a concentration of policy on selected "growth" centres" which should be areas chosen on the basis of their prospects for development. Such policy should combine incentives to industry, improved infrastructure and services, thus making the "growth centre" area the focus for a substantial concentration of population and services, which would further generate growth.

There has been criticism of the "growth centre" approach, pointing out in particular the fallacy of the assumption that the kind of industry which would usually be attracted would indeed generate employment and growth on a sustained scale. Closely related to this is the whole question of what type of industry is mobile and whether its basic "behavior" when moving is such that creates sustained employment. This question, which is highly relevant for the Borders (especially in the light of what resulted from the Regional Plans and the attempts to attract industry) becomes more complicated when we realise that growth industries are not necessarily the most mobile (e.g. services). Moreover, in such cases as the Borders, the attractive prospect of building regional growth around a complex of related industris may lead to a narrow, overspecialised industrial base. This raises a further question: is there a wide range of mobile industries from which one could choose a "good mix" for development, and even if such a mix exists among the mobile

industries, what should the measures be to attract them? Especially in areas where there is a shortage of labour and a legacy of bad infrastructure and social services, the scale of state assistance must be substantial.

Criticism of the "growth centre" approach has been based on examples, especially from the electronics industry. Where industry did move, it was generally only that part of the industry concerned with the manufacture of components, while the continuing trend for concentrating research and development (R & D) and head offices in the big centres (especially London) meant that the new regional branches were dependent on the centre. Furthermore, given the general trends in the industry, the new branches offered employment which was neither on a large scale nor sustained, and which implied a deskilling of labour in areas which often had a high proportion of highly skilled craft labour.

The "growth centre" idea has been influential in the case of the Borders, concentrating development in the Western Borders and choosing Galashiels as the focus for expansion:

> A more fundamental solution will require a geographic, economic, social and cultural focus to be supplied for the population of the whole Western area. A range of employment and the facilities of modern living could then gradually be built up and improved on a scale not now found in any individual town. Equally, the conditions of success for any substantial introduction of new industry — and indeed for investment on improved services — call for a location which can draw on the widest possible catchment.[2]

Galashiels was suggested as the most suitable location, fulfilling the two conditions of centrality and rapid creation of a central focus. The immediate start (1000 houses by 1970) with housing development near Darnick, as an extension to Galashiels to be known as Tweedbank, was promoted as an act of declaration of serious commitment from the government to the idea of development the Borders. And, on a wider scale, the provision of housing was seen as crucial in this combined effort of attracting industry and population.

Before embarking on a closer examination of the Tweedbank proposals and the Central Borders Plan, as well as the public inquiries which followed as a result of the objections raised, we should first consider: a. the question of the change in policy and why the Borders had not previously been given development status and assistance; and b. the question of the behaviour of the industry which is considered "mobile" within the regional policy measures.

2. Regional Development and the Borders

Before local authority reorganisation in Scotland in 1975, the Borders were not a region in the administrative sense. Nevertheless, the area was considered as having social and cultural specific local characteristics. The very rivalry between the burghs, which as we have seen in Part I, goes right back to the days of local fairs and the then highly competitive relation between the branches of the textile industry, is considered a feature of the area, a

singularity which (as many Borders saw it) should not be bulldozed over by the restructuring of the state administration.

Even to a casual visitor passing through the villages and burghs of the Borders, it is clear that agriculture and industry have shaped the area spatially and have given it its particular environmental profile. What is less obvious to the casual visitor is the complex of local social relations which have been shaped over a long period of time, and which, especially in Galashiels, Selkirk and Hawick and the other smaller textile enclaves, have sustained certain conditions of accumulation locally, based on low wages and a lack of labour militancy. The latter is stressed in brochures advertising the attractions of the Borders for incoming industry. The domination by one industry and the trends in agriculture (mechanisation, shedding labour) have also contributed to the depopulation of the area with the attendant effects on the provision of services, infrastructure, etc., and most significantly, the lack of a labour reserve army.

The particular patterns of social relations based on patterns of land ownership, remnants of paternalism and specific accumulation practices, have had a triple effect on the development of the Borders:

— It has become difficult and unattractive for young people to stay: difficult because of the lack of training opportunities, lack of jobs, lack of good pay, lack of good housing at the cheap end of the market; unattractive because of all the reasons mentioned above, plus the lack of any activities and social facilities, coupled with

social control practices characteristic of small communities. As Holland puts it:

> Much migration is rational in the sense that the reasons to move exceed the reasons for not moving. But this rationality in many cases is not strictly economic. It includes the desperate out-migration of the young from regions which offer them no sure prospect of jobs and self-improvement even in the very long run; the escape from social exploitation by a dominant local class . . . also offers the choice between different compensations for not being employed, not between a job and no job. [3]

— The conditions of accumulation for new industry moving in are not attractive. The two biggest "assets," space and labor, are either blocked by land ownership or in short supply (especially female labour) and dominated by local capital.

— The short supply of jobs, the low wages and the lack of physical and social infrastructure have conditioned the type of population who would come into the Borders. As we have already mentioned, a large proportion of in-migrants are over retirement age. And as regards the parts closer to Edinburgh (such as Peebles or Lauderdale), there are the commuters and the seasonal holiday-makers.

At the time of the White Paper, therefore, in the overall spatial division, the Borders occupied a place with certain "tags": economically — stagnant; population — in danger, seeing that there was a net death-rate; geographically — remote and isolated, especially in view of the lack of good, fast routes to the big centres, airports, etc.

The lack of a pool of labour placed the Borders in an unfavourable position in the competition for regional development aid throughout the 1950's, when the emphasis was on the relief of unemployment and the aim was to encourage the movement of industry to those areas with a high unemployment rate, through a combination of "carrot and stick" policy measures.

In the 1960's, however, state policy took a decisive turn towards assisting restructuring on a wider basis. Virtually the whole of Scotland except Edinburgh came within regional development and the Borders were included for the first time, after ten years of pressure from local interests. The emphasis, as we have said, was on overall economic growth and on the balance between regions. So, although the Borders had a very low unemployment rate, the need for state action was recognised, and the Border situation was described as being unique in the United Kingdom:

> Superficially all is well. The countryside is prosperous with its large and well-kept farms; in the towns, the unemployment level resembles that of the English Midlands. Yet this apparent prosperity and lack of the more obvious signs of industrial and social malaise conceal a condition of growing precariousness. [4]

In this turn of policy there were two major components: a. the problems faced by the local textile industry, and especially by the local woolen industry; and b. the efforts for restructuring on a wider basis under the impact of the deepening crisis of the 1960's.

a. Availability of Labour: Problems faced by the local textile industry.

The two dominant branches of the local textile industry, hosiery and woolens, had depended heavily on cheap female labour and on the absence of labour militancy. Owing to the long term depopulation trend, especially amongst the young, the textile industry was now facing problems of renewing its labour force in the near future.

In a survey on the condition and problems of local industries (which was confidential), the local textile industry put forward its points of strength (good export position being the most important) and its problems and worries. The absence of male employment opportunities was seen as a great handicap for attracting and retaining in the Borders young families whose wives and daughters would be a labour reserve from which the textile industry could draw. As practice, especially in the hosiery branch, has shown, training can be done on the job and young girls are preferred, given also the high speed requirements in the production process. The textile industry's requirements for female labour were strongly emphasised, not only in the White Paper but also during the two public inquiries which followed (one on Tweedbank and one on the Central Borders Plan).

However, if we consider briefly the problem of restructuring and the various processes and alternatives it includes, there appears a big question-mark as to the real labour needs of the industry. Industry can affect population size in two basic ways: a. it can create an increase by attracting labour when expanding on a labour-intensive basis; and b. it can bring about a decrease when it increases productivity through technological innovation. The former

was the case when the industry expanded in the period from 1830 to 1890, described in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Especially during the initial stage of factory development in competitive capitalism in the area, the need for labour-intensive high-quality production practices had a big impact on the general population level, and on the growing numbers of the labour force. At the same time, the changes in agriculture and the decline in other sectors with relevant skills created a labour reserve army from which the textile industry could draw to fulfill its needs. But after the initial big pull there were constant complaints, especially in boom periods, about the shortage of skilled labour.

The situation was very different, however, in the 1960's. During the post-World War II period and with the development of monopoly capitalism, more and more emphasis was put on technological innovation and the cutting down on labour-intensive methods. The Border textile industry had already undergone transformations towards more mechanisation, but was still essentially labour-intensive, fragmented and dominated by small family-type concerns. As we have already mentioned, in Hawick, and in the hosiery branch in general, a rapid process of concentration took place after the mid-1960's, under Dawson International, a process which continued pretty ruthlessly throughout the 1970's.

One would therefore assume that, given the prevailing structural trends, what the local textile industry needed was technical innovation, and labour of different quality and skills, and not "more" cheap female labour in big numbers.

Bernat Klein (a well known local textile designer and manufacturer) pointed this out in an aggressive presentation during the public inquiry, where he stressed the labour shortage was a non-existing problem, and that what the industry needed was a radical reorganisation of management, policy and methods of production, a complete rethinking from the top.

In fact the kind of changes the local industry needed would lead to a drop in labour numbers. As subsequent events showed, the industry did shed labour during the 1970's, thus contributing to the number of empty houses which were initially built for the incoming workers (but of this more later).

b. General Trends in Restructuring: The post-war transformation of industry and the associated structural trends have brought about important changes in the quality of labour, in its organisation and locational distribution.

We cannot go in depth into these transformations here, but it is important to be aware of them, as they shed some light on the question of attracting new industry into the Borders.

The increasing internationalisation of capital and the growth of monopoly capitalism with its ability to organise production over large, transnational spatial limits, has contributed to a new spatial division of labour. This has also intensified the problem of small locally-bound capital: while it has to face up to the giant monopolies on the international export arena, it has lacked the mobility and the flexibility which the monopolies possess.

With the increasing introduction of high technology, the main trends in the post-war process of restructuring have been, on the one hand, the centralisation of R & D and higher management departments in the metropolitan areas, and, on the other, the decentralisation of production and routine administration to the periphery. For this Assisted Areas offering regional policy incentives have often been preferred. This process, however, has led to an ever increasing de-skilling of the mass of the labour force, as more and more labour processes are broken up into simpler tasks, and to the creation of a few new jobs in management. Given the high degree of development in telecommunications and transport, it has become possible to space these two "worlds" within one branch of industry, miles, even countries apart. This also means that depressed regions, when competing for new industry, are not only competing with other regions within the nation state, but, also with overseas "havens" of cheap labour and tax evasion systems. Furthermore, it means that while product transport costs are no longer crucial locational factors, especially with multinationals, proximity to airports and to fast train services are very important in ensuring the smooth and fast contact between the head R & D and the manufacturing production branch through visits by managerial and control staff.

The growth of multinationals and their mobility has also had a big impact on the effectiveness of regional policy, by a. reducing the effectiveness of "stick" measures; and b. the possibility of getting better "carrots" abroad. As S. Holland points out, "multinational production offers such companies a variety of financial gains which limit the effectiveness of government regional policy." [5]

Two "techniques" seem to be particularly popular:

i. Through their access to low cost labour, much lower than in Britain: in some less developed countries (even excluding South Africa), labour costs can be as low as a quarter of those in Britain (Taiwan, Brazil, Mexico, Phillipines, Hong Kong). It would then be a case of the State offering employment premiums of up to 75% just to come level on the issue of cheap labour. When we consider that in some cases labour costs are as low as 1/10 or 1/20, then we can grasp the ineffectiveness of this side of regional policy.

ii. By locating in tax havens abroad they can benefit from transfer pricing of profits. Such practices together with the low labour costs diminish the importance of capital incentives.

When we consider that multinationals are in the most mobile sector — i.e. manufacturing — and that often the jobs they create abroad are in relatively labour-intensive manufacturing sectors which are particularly suitable for problem regions, then we can understand the loss.

But apart from the pursuit of super-profits which directs the decisions of the multinationals on the location and organisation of production, there are other problems relating to the underdeveloped regions within Britain. Transport costs are now by far the least important. According to the 1963 British Industrial Census, they

formed only 2½ % of total costs. Besides, they are very difficult to separate from handling costs and often many firms do not even bother to separate them in their accounts of deliveries within the U.K. What does seem to be a real obstacle is the "lack of social infrastructure." Big companies like Unilever and IBM put this higher than the impact of government financial incentives. As it was put: "The most important factor in location for large companies is the manager's wife," especially when she has less opportunity of a good job and lack of facilities for child care, as well as other social facilities. [6]

This does ring a bell loud and clear when we consider the lack of physical and social infrastructure in the Borders, the absence of jobs and of good quality housing for owner-occupation, the total absence of nurseries, etc., etc.

In contrast to the multinationals, U.K. companies are more interested in regional incentives because they do not have the same flexibility and choice to locate abroad (and thus also avoiding IDC's), or the transfer pricing of profits techniques. When they are forced to move, they do so often with reluctance and can offer less employment than multinationals. The dangers are greater. The splitting of what is, anyway, an embryonic management structure involves grave dangers and often prohibitive costs, compared with the big management R & D departments of the multinationals with their multi-product, multi-locational structures. As Holland puts it:

> A good manager in a small company may risk his professional future by doubling his responsibility with a new regional initiative, and find himself joining the unemployed rather than creating regional employment. [7]

So far we have considered the main structural transformations and the locational hierarchy of labour produced by them, as well as the position of multinationals toward regional policy. Before examining more closely the Border application of regional policy, we must also consider the measures taken by industry in the processes of centralisation of production and concentration of capital during restructuring.

In the question of what industry is mobile and what industry can afford to move and create jobs, the answer is different when we consider multinationals and national firms. Keeping this in mind, we must also ask the general question: what processes within the firm involve a locational shift? And under what considerations?

The process of restructuring involves a considerable amount of change in the labour process, as well, very often, as the structure of the firm, through introducing standardisation and automation. We have already mentioned the creation of a locational hierarchy within production, the split between R & D and the production level.

The direct impact on production can vary: a. from the partial reduction of labour to total closure; and b. from partial to full standardisation and automation. In terms of the labour requirements in both categories of change, a reduction in labour is necessary and, especially where full technological change is incurred, the requirements are for less skilled labour and only a few managerial skills. Cheaper labour, especially women, can often be introduced.

Such changes can take place without relocation of fixed capital. Often, though, it is advantageous to invest in a brand new plant. In such cases Development Areas are preferred because of the incentives they offer, including new, purpose-built factories, grants and preferential tax arrangements. Also, given the de-skilling of the labour force involved, it is often easier to introduce the new, harsher conditions by moving into a new area with a pool of unorganised labour. [8] Such moves, therefore, mean an overall reduction in the quantity of the labour force (as usually the previous location area loses more labour than that gained by the Development Area) and a lowering of the quality of the skill of the labour. Moreover, there are no guarantees that the firm will stay over a long period of time and will continue to generate employment. The recent effects of the deepening crisis in Scotland have shown how vulnerable to recession branches located in Development Areas can be.

In the overall process of restructuring, different firms take different decisions under constraints determined by their power in the competitive arena. The state offers support through regional policy, but especially in times of crisis and the intensification of the restructuring process, it will more readily give assistance to "growth" industries and especially to industries which produce means of production and commodities important for increasing productivity in other industries, thus aiding the overall technological push and the increase in productivity. The electronics industry has been a major example, especially throughout the 1960's, and it has been of great importance in the Borders as well. But, according to the

locational hierarchy already mentioned, which is prominent in this industry, the branches which have been opened in the Borders have been mainly concerned with the manufacture of components, while R & D and the main management have still remained in the metropolis of the South.

After this short account of key aspects in the restructuring processes, locational shift and regional policy, we come to ask: what type of industry did the Borders need to attract, according to the White Paper? And what was the position of the local textile industry in this process? What were seen as the gains and what were the fears?

3. The Central Borders Plan: The Role of Tweedbank

The problems affecting the Borders were stated in a concise form in the White Paper. So were the proposed remedies and strategies to be followed. A clear remit was given to the planning consultants who were called in, plus a time scale within which to present their report.

The Regeneration of the Broders was part of an overall plan for the Scottish economy which set as economic objectives faster rates of growth, higher productivity and more employment opportunities. The relatively high unemployment rates and the more latent forms of lower activity rates were characterised as the "visible form of the underemployment of Scottish labour resources." [9] Higher productivity was seen as the "only means of securing a more competitive position in world markets," while the assumption was clear that "in the long run higher productivity and higher employment go hand in hand." [10]

These objectives set out for Scotland formed an integral part of the National Plan as a whole and expressed the same fundamental approach, namely that while concentrated effort is needed on the industrial "pockets," the overall performance of other, less developed regions was crucial if the goal of overall economic expansion was to be achieved. In this light the White Paper, which embraces virtually the whole of Scotland, set out the priorities for Scotland following a series of studies of all the proposed Areas for Development. While emphasising the performance of Central Scotland as the determining factor, the view that there must be coordination in the scale and timing of change for each area is clearly stressed, together with the need for determined state commitment and action:

> In no case can the scale and timing of any change be derived solely from the conditions of the area itself. Remedies are shown to be more or less urgently needed — more urgently in the Borders, for exmaple, less in the South West — but nowhere can the full contribution of the study areas to an expanding Scottish economy be made without considerable reinforcement of business enterprise, skilled labour and populationfrom outside. The extent to which this can be done depends upon the performance of the Scottish economy as a whole, which means in the first instance, on the performance of Central Scotland. [11]

Thus, the regeneration of the Borders itself and the phasing of the remedies suggested were seen as an integral part of the overall policy for growth. Great emphasis was placed on the development of technology and relevant skills, and consequently on the support of growth industries such as electronics, electrical engineering, chemicals, and machine tools. Direct expenditures on research and development

in fast-growing industries as well as the development of government research establishments (such as the National Engineering Laboratory at East Kilbride and the Atomic Energy Authority's station at Dounreay) were to assist this drive. But other industries, including agriculture, fisheries, forestry and tourism were also taken into the general expansion plan.

Within this strategy the proposals for the Borders appeared circumscribed, but also had an air of urgency, because of the rapidly deteriorating population structure of the area, which was such that, if immediate measures were not taken, depopulation would reach the point where economic survival was no longer possible. These trends were identified as the most threatening for the Central Borders, but it was also felt that there was some scope for development. As we have already seen in the chapter on population trends in the Borders, there had been a continuous decline in population since the peak of 1890. However, this had been concentrated mainly in the countryside, while the towns, especially Hawick, Galashiels, Jedburgh and Melrose, had been stable. According to the White Paper there were indications that this "malaise" was now threatening the towns as well, due to the lack of choice of opportunity and their narrow industrial base, which led to emigration and offered no incentives to potential incomers. Apart from the already unsound age structure, with its high percentage of old and retired people, and the low fertility rate, the analysis in the White Paper forecast a loss of around 8000 people by emigration between 1963 and 1973, mainly from the towns.

Given such unsound population trends, the future of the local industry was endangered, as it was impossible to expand and modernize without an adequate supply of labour (the assumption still prevailing was that modernisation would involve an actual increase in labour); and the diversification of the industrial base was made impossible.

As an immediate step for the first ten to fifteen years, it was proposed to introduce 25,000 new population, mainly of child-bearing age. The most suitable area was seen to be in the proximity of Galashiels, because it was an established town, not far from Edinburgh, with a labour catchment of 73,000 people within a radius of fifteen miles. Moreover, if expansion continued and further population needed to be accommodated, this could take place along the corridor in the Tweed Valley, linking up with St. Boswells, thus providing Scotland with a continuous development of a very attractive environmental character.

It was recognized that the infusion of such population into an area with limited resources called for a "novel coordinated programme"[12] and for this purpose it was proposed to appoint a Planning Consultant (who was to be Percy Johnson Marshall of Edinburgh University Urban Planning Department) and he, aided by his team of experts and in consultation with the local authorities and the SDD, was to submit a report within 18 months on the optimal way of distributing the extra 25,000 population within the prescribed area in the Central Borders.

This programme was to be supplemented by the exploitation of the potential industrial sites near Galashiels and the provision of

housing for incoming workers. Meanwhile, in order to show the Government's commitment to development in the Borders, an immediate start was to be made on a housing-and-industry complex in Darnick near Galashiels. The proposals for the development of this new community which was to be called Tweedbank included 1000 houses to be built by the SSHA by the end of 1970, with provision for a small complex of industry.

Thus Tweedbank was to be a pilot, a showpiece of similar development in an area of high amenity value, and a declaration of commitment by the Government which would be a positive influence on industrialists considering the possibility of settling in the Borders.

a. Main Methods and Proposals in the Central Borders Plan

According to the terms of reference issued by the SDD in April 1966, the planning study on the settlement of 25,000 people in the Central Borders and the creation of the conditions for economic growth was assigned to Professor P.J. Marshall as the Consultant Director and to Professor N. Wolfe as the Economic Consultant. Edinburgh University's Planning Research Unit would undertake the physical planning and design. Other relevant departments of the Social Sciences Faculty, including Economics, Geography and Sociology, would also be involved. As had been stated in the White Paper, the consultants were to report within 18 months.

The study was envisaged as incorporating three phases:

Phase 1: An interim report, to be submitted as soon as

possible on the extension of Galashiels south of the Tweed towards Darnick, and on the siting of 1000 houses to be built by the SSHA by 1970. The role of Tweedbank and the reasons for the urgency attached to this scheme had already been explained in the White Paper.

Phase 2: Advice on the way in which the extra 25,000 people envisaged for the expansion of the Borders' population could be distributed within the Central Borders area, taking also into account the necessary industrial and commercial development to support this expansion.

Phase 3: Advice (in very broad terms) on the long-term expansion in the area, which may expect to be self-generating after the 1980's. [13] Special reference was made to the need for "exceptionally high quality planning, design and execution, both to justify developing the very attractive stretch of valley between Galashiels and St. Boswells, and to establish new environmental standards for urban Scotland." [14]

In performing their task within the narrow time limits set, the planners not only had the close collaboration of specialists from other academic disciplines, but also the advice of two Technical Committees, one for services and one for roads, the Borders Executive Committee and the Borders Officials Committee. Extensive use was made of computer techniques and, in order to save time in studying the physical characteristics of the Study Area, a colour film was made. Public participation was also encouraged by Border Television, while the meetings of the Borders Consultative Group, in which the planning term participated, were always well attended by the public. There is

no doubt that there was enough publicity given to the whole exercise. Whether one can speak of "public participation" is another question, given that major decisions had already been taken and were incorporated in the White Paper. Also, the interim report on the controversial Tweedbank project, which was submitted in May 1966, was kept confidential, a fact which created further suspicion that the planners had not been able to support this choice as the best, but had had to justify it nevertheless by pointing out that it could be incorporated into the rest of the plan for expansion and was a reasonable site.

The theoretical method applied, threshold analysis, based on physical-environmentaland economic limits, was used for the first time, and a number of other methods and techniques were also applied.[15] The recommendations of the consultants after the various studies were carried out and alternative models were considered and tested had the following main points:

— Central to all development was the concept of a "regional community" or "regional city." This new urban structure "will be like a city which has had its agglomeration of almost unidentifiable communities 'exploded' to allow some of the loveliest landscape in Britain to penetrate and surround them."[16] It would combine all the facilities of city living with easy accessibility to beautiful countryside, some of it, owing to the river, offering potential for a variety of sports. In terms of land use this model would also be interesting, since there were suggestions, supported by outline

evaluation studies, that some of these open spaces could be used for various agricultural purposes.

— Within the idea of a "regional community," expansion should take place in such a way that:

i. The existing towns should expand by approximately 5,000 persons (as envisaged in the Development Plan proposals in force at the time of the study).

ii. The Tweedbank development of approximately 4,000 persons should also be implemented.

iii. Further expansion accommodating up to 6,000 persons should take place in the existing towns, taking into consideration the capacity of their existing water and drainage services.

iv. There should be a major new expansion of approximately 10,000 and the best place, for a complex of environmental and economic reasons, is St. Boswells.

v. Industrial sites should be established at St. Boswells, Tweedbank and Hawick.

vi. Certain road infrastructure improvements were also necessary, with the realigned A6091 road linking the A1 with the A68 trunk road and the bridge at Galafoot being seen as urgent, especially in the light of the Tweedbank development.

vii. The recommendations included a number of other road improvements, health and educational services, the development of a national park with a wildlife reserve, sites for caravans, camping and holiday facilities including an 18-hole golf course, and the improvement of historic sites for tourist and educational purposes. [17]

In considering the various development alternatives, both for the immediate expansion following the infusion of 25,000 persons by 1980 and the possible further expansion by the year 2000, no less than seven alternative models were examined. They were all examined by the relevant technical committees and, after analysis of industrial location and linkages, shopping and social needs, traffic and amenity factors, one model was chosen which involved the expansion of the existing towns, with the predominance of Galashiels as the main shopping centre, and the development of two large new residential areas, one at Tweedbank as already committed, and one at St. Boswells, where any subsequent growth could also be located. The following table shows the estimated population and net increases in the towns by 1980 (see next page).

b. Basic Projections

In the process of estimating the land needs for the future population expansion, a series of projections were used. These included a projection of the number of jobs for 1980 and their proportion in each sector of industry, taking into account that the manufacturing sector is the major land user, and the need for car parking given the high usage of cars for commuting to work. The new towns were used as models for estimating acreage and density. For residential purposes the following criteria were used. Given the number of persons after the expected increase and the average family size, the densities encouraged by the Secretary of State (15-20 dwellings per acre) were considered, then an average was drawn between a lower density where the area would be particularly attractive for middle income housing and a higher density in the

Table 1

Proposed Population Distribution 1980

	1980 Population	Net Increase
Hawick	17,900	1,694
Galashiels	17,512	5,252
St. Boswells	12,185	10,125
Selkirk	6,625	991
Peebles	6,348	800
Jedburgh	5,045	1,400
Tweedbank	4,400	4,400
Innerleithen and Walkerburn	3,407	245
Melrose	2,642	--
Earlston	1,450	250
Denholm and Midlem	653	--
Clovenfords	140	--
Rural Areas	20,537	--
Total (approximate)	100,000	25,000

Source: Central Borders Plan, Vol. I, p. 25.

case of the existing towns, because linear expansion due to their form would increase the walking distance to the town centres and because of a shortage of building land. In the light of the above, a density of 11.5 dwellings per acre (40 persons per acre: 25 acres per 1000 population) was suggested as the proper density for the area. For ancillary uses, in view of the easy accessibility of the countryside, the high density figure of 7 acres per 1000 population was suggested. The tables on the following pages give a basic idea of the figures used for the projections.

c. Economic Report on the Central Borders Plan

The economic survey of the Central Borders and of the potential for growth reiterates the choices available and the constraints, both from the socio-economic and geographical conditions in the Borders and the proposals in the White Paper.

It is interesting to consider the two preliminary decisions which the economists had to make: a. whether to concentrate economic strategy on the improvement of transport facilities; and b. whether it would be feasible to create a centre or group of centres with a population which would be regarded as economically viable. [18] These two alternatives were considered in the light of a review of existing trends in the Borders, but also within the context of general analysis of broader questions of "viability" in terms of population size, of the desired or necessary size of settlements for economic expansion, and the costs and benefits of different models of application. The planners' decision was in favour of the second orientation,

Table 2

Industry and Employment Projections

Total number of jobs by 1980 — 44,955.

Proportions in each sector:		
Primary Sector	5.5%	2,535 jobs (decrease of 2,075)
Secondary Sector	47.0%	21,085 jobs (5,795 new jobs)
Tertiary Sector	47,5%	21,335 jobs (5,835 new jobs)

Source: Central Borders Plan, Vol. I, p. 19.

Table 3

Requirements of Secondary Sector

	Jobs	Gross Density w.p.a.	Acreage
Existing Growth Industries	75	74	1
Incoming Industries	5,720	35	164
	5,795		165

Source: Central Borders Plan, Vol. I, p. 20.

Table 4

Requirements of Tertiary Sector

	Jobs	Gross Density w.p.a.	Acreage
"Natural" growth of. . .	645	20	32
Existing industries. . .	260	20	13
	905		45

Source: Central Borders Plan, Vol. I, p. 20.

Table 5

Total Land Needs: Residential and Ancillary Uses

	Density: Acres per 1000 pop.	Acres	Average Gross Density
Residential net (40 p.p.a.)	25	625	
Recreation and Gross Space	7	175	
Residual Uses	8.5	215	
	40.5	1,015	25 p.p.a.

Source: Central Borders Plan, Vol. I, p. 20.

although the improvement of certain main routes was declared to be vital.

Throughout the consideration of different approaches and alternatives, the growing importance of economising was stressed, and of avoiding embarking on exercises of two large a scale which might prove to be non-starters. The recognition of the crisis setting in appeared occassionally (e.g. through the realisation that mobile growth industry would increasingly become scarce).

The assumption that a substantial increase in population is necessary as a means to economic regeneration was examined in the light of past experience, which seemed to suggest that an expansion of population is not always the key feature, as there had been many cases of economic regeneration in regions which had very little population growth. These cases, however, had been characterised by the decline of an existing industry and the consequent pool of labour which was a major force in attracting new industry from the outside. A feature of such cases, therefore, was the possibility of retaining this reserve and not losing it through outward migration (as was the case in the Borders). Altogether, the question of viable size was related to the overall size of the settlement, or to transportation and proximity to bigger centres. Attention was also drawn to the tendency of industry to locate near centres with a substantial population, and to the economies which can arise from such concentration in terms of shorter journeys to work, infrastructure and services, but also to the disadvantages of congestion.

A number of points arise from the considerations in the planning reports: Should we simply be following the trends manifested in industrial behaviour as regards location, or should we be aiming at creating a different type of development? The considerations which are important here relate not only to general development objectives, but also, to a significant extent, to the question of how to provide what the state promises to offer (especially infrastructure and services), without unnecessary spending and risk in relation to the outcome of such exercises (e.g. attracting new industry and population). In other words, key questions on size of population and locational patterns of distribution are considered on the one hand from the standpoint of dominant trends in the mobility of industry in general, and of growth industry in particular, while on the other hand the financial interests of the state as the provider of some of the key conditions for development play a very decisive role. This is an important point in the relationship between employment and housing, as the state mediates this relationship, not only through its role as "regulator" "referee" and "planner" of economic development, but through its involvement and specific interests in the economics of administration in the course of its fulfillment of this role. And, given the fragmentation and division of labour within the state apparatus itself in the performance of its role, this can also provide the basis for a considerable degree of conflict between parts of the state, especially between central and local government, when the latter has to carry the "cost" of some of the development decisions taken

(e.g. servicing of expensive sites, feelings of discontent among the local population).

There are, also, other, more direct ways in which questions of economic expansion and industrial development affect housing. Indeed planned growth in the housing stock combined with population growth can be an important economic stimulus in itself: a. by the construction activity it provides at least for a period of time; and b. through the impact it has upon incoming industries whose key employees will move more readily where there is housing available. Especially where vacant housing of reasonable standard exists at a low rent, its role as a form of subsidy to wages cannot be overlooked. The role of the state here in providing good quality cheap housing for incoming workers — a task too unprofitable for capital to perform — is significant.

The role of the state for capital here is therefore twofold: a. it provides a commodity crucial for the reproduction of labour power and, consequently, for the attraction of labour; and b. it helps keep down the value of labour power with a dampening effect on wage levels.

In other words, the provision of state housing for incoming workers in developing regions is an important element of development measures not only because it induces mobility, but also because it affects labour costs in ways that are not immediately apparent (by REP, tradition of low wages).[19]

The question of whether and how planned change can take place, and of the role of the state in the process with its appearance of being a progressive force, is a highly controversial and fascinating issue meriting a whole separate study to itself. For the purposes of the task at hand, however, and in the light of hindsight, we can comment that:

a. For such planned change of deeply rooted societal forms you need to at least possess tools not only of prediction but based on actual control over economic forces, industry and population, tools which the state even in modern capitalism does not possess;

b. The appearance of neutrality of planning techniques and exercises, like the appearance of the State as a neutral force standing above class interests, rests on wider assumptions about the State and class struggle and should be treated in this light, not as given, widely accepted and self-evident truths.

4. The Tweedbank Development

"Tweedbank will mean a change in our Border scene, and for some, a change in traditional ways of life. But from what I have seen and heard of the high standards set for its development, I believe it will be a change for the great and lasting benefit of the Borders." [20]

"Is it too late to revamp the New Town by attracting viable industry and fetching the incoming workers to match? Only time will tell and, of course, that much-quoted expression 'the present economic climate.' If things stay as they are, Tweedbank could be labelled as

the planners' dream which, over the course of a few painful years, turned into a nightmare." [21]

The Background of the Proposals

The proposals for the Tweedbank development were part of the general plan for the expansion of the Scottish economy which was published in the Government's White Paper Cmnd 2864, "The Scottish Economy 1965-1970." We have already referred to the main thrust of the plan, and more specifically to the proposals for the Borders. Also, in the previous chapter we referred to the most relevant points of the Central Borders Plan. Here we come to take a closer look at this single project combining housing and industry, at the controversy it aroused, the protracted battle and the public inquiry following the objections which were raised, and the consequent series of teething problems followed by deadlock and the subsequent stalemate of the project.

i. A closer look at the Tweedbank project is considered valuable not because it was typical of development efforts in the Borders; not all attempts were non-starters. Some industry did come (as mentioned in the chapter on the Post-War Period), and a certain amount of housing was made available for incoming workers in the burghs of Galashiels and Hawick. It is true that the general target of population increase was to remain a mere estimate, and in the context of the deepening recession and the restructuring of the local textile industry which followed, the Borders were hit by further closures (such as the Dawson International closures). Therefore, the Borders and particularly Tweedbank, the "pet project" of the White

Paper, did not remain immune from the general effects of the crisis and the Government's financial cut-backs.

ii. Another point which must be made clear at the outset is that we shall not attempt to give a full analysis of what went wrong with Tweedbank and how it could have been avoided.

iii. The decision to examine the Tweedbank controversy was based on the view that it was the focal point around which many of the issues at stake were fought, and that it brings to light a complex of class interests, attitudes and positions. Moreover, it was the only direct effort to implement the proposals of the White Paper — the Central Borders Plan was never implemented. As such, it gives us a unique and tangible example of an attempt in the Borders to relate housing and employment closely: hence its obvious interest for an analysis of the interrelation between the two.

In the light of these points it is clear that Tweedbank does not fulfill the role of an in-depth case study on housing and industrial development in the Borders, but we examine it as a useful focal point of conflict and eruption from which we can draw certain important inferences for the purposes of our analysis.

Having made these points we shall now look more closely at

a. the main points of the proposals for Tweedbank;
b. the objections and the basic points made at the Inquiry;
c. the attitudes and interests expressed through the Inquiry;
d. the outcome at Tweedbank;
e. the role of the state — conflicts with local interests and between sections of the state apparatus.

a. The Proposals for Tweedbank

The background to Tweedbank was the trend to depopulation of the Borders and the unbalanced population structure of the Western Borders. It was considered that the situation called for immediate measures if the economic regeneration of the area were to be possible. (In previous chapters we have already discussed the trends which contributed to this depopulation based on high dependence on agriculture and textiles, combined with lack of opportunity for the young and the reasoning behind the proposals to introduce 25,000 new persons in the Borders.) The Tweedbank development, of 1000 houses with an adjacent industrial complex, was to be a positive step towards this regeneration, a test case and something of a showpiece for similar development in rural Scotland, given the high standards set for the planning and layout in a setting of high amenity value. It would also be a declaration to all prospective industrialists of firm commitment by the Government to the economic regeneration of the area.

Its location, between Galashiels and Darnick south of the Tweed, was chosen on certain grounds:

i. Close proximity to Galashiels, which was already a commercial centre and which featured in the study included in the White Paper as the area suitable for further expansion, with a considerable labour catchment radius and easy access to Edinburgh;

ii. High amenity surroundings which would provide an ideal setting for a new, high standard concept of development, contrasting favourably with congested industrial centres;

iii. Its association with the construction "of a new road connecting Galashiels and Melrose via a new bridge over the Tweed at Galafoot. . . as a first stage in establishing a regional link between routes A72, A7 and A68. . . . The two schemes were in fact complementary and the proposed expansion in the middle Tweed Valley had made it possible to advance in time an improvement in the trunk road system, which had long been recognised as desirable." In fact the road proposals would not be justified otherwise by existing traffic needs.[22]

This combination of housing with an industrial complex and a road system improvement was seen as valuable for development because it demonstrated to industrialists the Government's commitment to establishing the conditions for future success.

In the proposals the time factor was stressed and the urgency of Tweedbank was seen as an integral part of the project's success, given the intense competition between regions to attract industry, a competition which was likely to become more intense.

The whole Tweedbank exercise would cost around £10 million, and would incorporate the highest standards for design and execution. The visibility of this attractive development from the road and thus to passing industrialists would in itself act as an additional form of advertisement.

b. <u>The Administrative Procedure</u>

The acceptance of the Tweedbank proposals involved a decision by the Roxburgh County Council (responsible before reorganisation for

planning decisions of such importance), after a recommendation by the County Planning Committee. In this case, this involved an amendment to the Development Plan for the County of Roxburgh which proposed the re-zoning of 147 acres for residential development, 45 acres for industry and 105 acres for special landscape treatment, for the development of 1000 houses and an appropriate complement of industry. The land, located south of the Tweed towards Darnick, had been zoned partly as policy land and partly as agricultural land, and in April 1966 they had been included in the areas of the Borders which were classified as being of great landscape value (Amendment No. 3). Because of this classification, the amendment (no. 7) would also involve annulling the zoning sanctioned in Amendment No. 3 as far as it applied to the above site.

The passing of Amendment No. 7 by the County Council was not without its hazards. It was first passed by the County Planning Committee on 25 July 1966, and then submitted to the Secretary of State in September of the same year, only to be withdrawn a little later when it was discovered that "owing to an error" the amendment had not been submitted to the County Council for confirmation.

On 12 December 1966, a revised amendment was recommended unanimously by the Planning Committee to the County Council, who accepted and confirmed the recommendation, but not without opposition: 29 members voted for the proposal, while eight members voted for a motion to postpone decision until the full plan for the Central Borders became available, and a further eight members abstained.

Amendment No. 7 was finally submitted to the Secretary of State on 16 February 1967, and it was duly published as prescribed by law, for objections to be raised. Following a wide range of objections, a Public Inquiry was held in the Corn Exchange, Melrose, on the 19 and 20 June, while a local inspection was made on the 3rd and 4th of July, in the presence of the interested parties.

Even from the carefully worded official report, we can understand that there was considerable discussion and controversy within the County Council over the recommendations.

But by far the more important fight was that put up by the large number of objectors — 77 objections in all were lodged — with a Mr. and Mrs. J. Hamilton of Lowood Farm near Melrose being the most bitter and determined objectors, fighting against the acquisition by the County Council of 192 acres of land which they owned. Even when the Public Inquiry had finished and the Secretary of State had approved the amendment, Mrs. Hamilton continued the legal battle by appealing to the Court of Session, and then further against this Court's decision, until she finally had to abandon the battle in May 1972 and withdraw her objections.

Although much of the conflict centred around this long-drawn battle between a landowner-farmer and the County Council, the Public Inquiry brought to light much wider issues involving the representation of various interests and attitudes. To the closer examination of these we now turn our attention.

c. The Objections

The objections which were lodged fall into two broad categories:

— Those questioning the assumptions in the White Paper about the Borders' problems and the suggested remedies — Tweedbank being the most concrete manifestation of these suggested remedies. The fact that Tweedbank was to be implemented before the Central Borders Plan had been completed was in itself a problem. The social problems which might be caused and the effects on the "Border way of life" were particularly stressed.

— Those criticising the development of the Darnick site itself, on the grounds that it was an awkward and expensive site to develop, and that alternative sites should be examined, especially the site at Holybush, also near Galashiels.

All objectors shared the view that Government assistance was welcome for the economic development of the Borders, but criticised the premises on which the proposals were based and hence the measures proposed.

The assumptions in the White Paper based on population statistics were questioned. Alternative estimates were brought forward by the objectors, which in fact showed that in the period 1961-1966 there had been a considerable slowing down in the depopulation trend (from 5.6% between 1951 and 1961 to 1.3% between 1961 and 1966). The burghs even showed a small gain for the period 1961-1966.

As regards age structure, there was also an improvement, especially in the towns. There was not only a decrease in the rate of decline of population of working age, but even a slight increase. It was stressed in the report, however, that the proportion of the working-age group to the rest of the population continues to decline.

A substantial error in the migration figures was pointed out by the objectors. The White Paper figures on migration, apart from not taking into account the drop in the migration numbers between 1961 and 1966, stated that, according to population projection on the basis of established trends, a loss of 8000 people was expected between 1963 and 1973. In fact, it was not made clear that this figure referred to the Borders as a whole and not to the Western Borders alone, where the figure of 5,500 was the correct one.

The discussion of the population estimates was controversial, and the alternative tables presented by the SDD and the objectors were often confusing. In the words of the Reporter:

> An analysis of the sets of figures is complicated by the fact that no two of them are in complete agreement. This, apparently is because the basic data undergo a process of continuous revision and the various tables contained in these productions are not directly comparable. [23]

The main aim behind the re-examination of population statistics, on the side of the objectors, was not to show that there was no population problem in the Borders, but that the scale of this problem was not as dramatic as had been suggested in the White Paper, and that therefore the assumption that the injection of 25,000 extra population was needed in the near future as well as the urgency attached to the

Tweedbank development were not fully justified.

Numerous representations were made, in person or by letter (in cases where the objectors were living abroad), expressing fears that the character of this beautiful part of the Borders, with its social specificity and its historico-literary significance — this being Walter Scott country — would be endangered by the importation of 25,000 outsiders. Indeed the "Border Way of life" would be affected. (How this "Border way of life" was expressed, as well as the dangers to it from alternative life styles, will be discussed shortly.)

The individuality of the Border towns, their long-established rivalry and patterns of relating would be threatened by the creation of what appeared (from the proposals in the White Paper) to be a continuous "linear" expansion of new urban development between Galashiels and St. Boswells. This rivalry between the burghs which was seen as a source of pride by the objectors, would be reduced, or so the planners hoped, by the creation of a "regional focus": the rivalry, they hoped, would survive only in a "folkloristic" way through such events as the Common Ridings, which would in no way present a barrier to the choice of settlement by new industry, but would enhance the cultural and touristic attraction of the region.

As we have seen in the first part of this thesis, this rivalry and fragmentation which existed and still persists between the industrial burghs was closely linked to the forms of small competitive capital and the division of the local working class defined locational and cultural lines, a division which had been established in pre-capitalist days through the different privileges which the burghs

enjoyed in the feudal system, but which persisted and acquired a new functional role within the capitalist mode of production. It is a division, nevertheless, which under late capitalism is creating obstacles to the idea of a "growth point" policy and to the recruitment of labour from a wide radius regardless of the old rivalry patterns which fragmented this radius. In fact, what we are dealing with here, expressed through the objections to the Tweedbank proposal, is two different locational patterns of economic activity and of labour mobility in terms of the daily journey to work. Although they are both an aggregate of separate parts,it is the rearrangement of these parts which is controversial. The pre-existing pattern reflected the behaviour of local competitive capital, while the proposed new pattern expressed the locational impact of modern industry moving into a new area, and the administrative needs of the state agencies which support such moves.

The effect of such changes in the patterns of arranging space was far from just an exercise in pure design or planning theory. It entailed real fears on the part of the old Border establishment about labour behaviour, demands on wages, and loss of established forms of social control.

In their claim to be the defenders of the Border way of life, the local ruling class was in fact claiming to speak on behalf of the entire Border people (a claim typical of ruling classes). In fact the local labour organisations did not object to the proposed development; nothing was heard of their objections, nor of how they would

describe the "Border way of life." For anyone who has actually lived in the area, it would be clear that, given the closed nature of many Border communities, the attitude to newcomers could indeed be, if not hostile, then at least reserved. However, the fears of the local ruling class and its representatives are expressed clearly in the record of the Public Inquiry, as we shall see shortly.

The objections to the site chosen were detailed and lengthy. Much of the controversy focused on the comparative advantages and disadvantages of an alternative site in Hollybush. This was put forward by the objectors as being a better proposition, because it was actually less costly to develop, closer to Galashiels, involving agricultural land of a lower quality, entailing no high amenity considerations, and owned by an owner who was willing to sell (at least for the biggest part of it).

A big part of the Inquiry was taken up with references to the difficulties involved in developing Tweedbank. To the non-expert reader, these difficulties seem sufficient to classify the site as being at least difficult to develop. High slopes, the proximity of at least part of the housing estate to the sewage works, high pylons, marshy ground and frost pockets are only some of the most striking defects.

Apart from these two groups of general objections, there were also serious worries on the part of the farmers' union about the loss of agricultural land.

Objections by the Farmers' Union

The development of Tweedbank would mean the disappearance of Lowood Farm and the shrinking of two more farms, Darnick and Broomiless, in all nearly 247 acres of agricultural land, of which 15 to 20% was classified as type A, and the rest more B+ than B, that is some of the best agricultural land in the country. In addition to the worries voiced by the Farmers' Union about the loss of good agricultural land and the wasteful use of land entailed in the Tweedbank development, they also put forward views about the role which a different type of development policy, based on supporting agricultural production, might play in providing male employment.

So, all together, the objections presented during the Public Inquiry included:

(a) Objections based on the landscape value and on the threats posed by the Tweedbank project to the historical and physical uniqueness of the Borders;

(b) Objections based on the view that the site chosen was not at all a suitable one, and that a better one was close at hand and easily accessible. Connected with these were also the objections to the proposals for the improvements to the road system;

(c) Objections based on the loss of good agricultural land;

(d) Objections based on an attack on the assumptions in the White Paper about the scale of the threat posed to the Borders by depopulation and the urgency of the proposed measures.

On the whole, however, there was very little reference to, or presentation by, the textile industry, and very little questioning of the assumptions about the needs of the industry. Bernat Klein, a well-known textile designer and industrialist based in Galashiels, was the only voice heard attacking the assumptions about the labour needs of the industry, especially in the woollen branch. He stressed that the industry was making a big mistake in pursuing a policy based on cheap labour and labour-intensive techniques, while what it needed was a "radical reorganisation of management policy and methods of production." [24] In his opinion, what the woollen industry suffered from was not lack of labour, but lack of modernisation and imaginative management:

> — If we want to put this industry right we will have to rethink what we are producing and then to rethink the method of what we are producing, that is, plant and machinery.
>
> — May I see if I understand you correctly, and please correct me if I am wrong. In your view the importation of a large body of labour into the area might do nothing at all for the textile industry unless the textile industry reorganises itself? — Absolutely right.
>
> — And might indeed produce a body of unemployed persons in the area? — Yes, and they will also allow management to lag even further behind because it will be an encouragement for them if there is a limited labour to try and take out what they lack in planning ability and designing ability, to take it out of cheaper labour. [25]

In contrast with the rest of the objectors, Mr. Klein did not just refer to the beauty of the Border countryside, but also to the reality of ugly towns, of the lack of amenities and job satisfaction. He referred to the riverside sites in Galashiels as an example, completely ruined by the textile industry while potentially they could

have become points of environmental beuaty and leisure time activity:

> The way I see our position is this, we have three factors, we have an ugly town, several ugly towns, not all of them in the Borders are ugly, of course, but Galashiels is certainly one of them; we have a beautiful countryside and we have depopulation; and we have this hypothetical problem of an industry down on its knees which we assume needs labour, but which in reality needs something quite different to get it on its feet again. If we have these factors, I should think that the right solution is to take the ugly town and make it beautiful, double its size if necessary, take the beautiful countryside and make it even more beautiful, but certainly not to spoil it, take the industry and prescribe the right medicine for it, bring in extra industries and develop certainly, but not under any circumstance ruin one of the very few real assets that we have in this area which is the countryside.[26]

Bernat Klein's criticisms were also in line with the findings and projections in the Economic Study for the Central Borders Plan, where it was argued that "substantial further expansion in employment in the woollen industries in the Central Borders was not very likely."[27]

Apart from the main objectors, there were also a variety of single objectors representing particular small interests (shopkeepers, pony-trekking organisers, etc.) who voiced fears about the adverse effect of the Tweedbank development on tourism, and the consequent loss of clientele which they would suffer. Fears for Abbotsford House were also expressed, including the possible decline in the number of visitors, and the more direct threat to the treasures of the House which might be posed by its proximity to a large housing scheme.

Finally, a considerable degree of anxiety was expressed by the

objectors about the cost of the proposed development. At the time of the Inquiry not much was known about the overall cost. Housing was the most expensive item, and it would be borne by the Government through the SSHA, while the cost of the provision of industrial sites and other facilities to incoming industry would also be covered by the Government. No estimates were available for roads, landscaping and open space, education and health facilities. By the end of the Inquiry, and on the basis of the evidence provided, it was clear that the whole exercise would cost at least 10 million. The inevitable rise in rates which would result from the Tweedbank development was an unwelcome burden to the local ratepayers.

d. Attitudes and Opinions Expressed During the Inquiry

The Position of the State, Trade Unions, Labour and Industrial Organisations:

With the exception of Roxburgh County Council, where as we have mentioned, there was some opposition to the development, all the local authorities accepted the plan for Tweedbank, some with more apprehension than others (as in the case of Jedburgh, where fears were voiced about the danger of losing local workers and incoming industry to the new scheme). There were no objections from the side of industry or from the labour organisations, with the exception of Bernat Klein. According to evidence received by the Borders Economic Planning Consultative Group, the main representative industrial groups were in favour of the plan. Bodies like the Hawick Knitwear and Hosiery Manufacturers' Association, the Galashiels Manufacturers'

Guild and the National Union of General and Municipal Workers (Hawick Branch) had all stated their opinion that the plan was good and that this initial step was necessary, and had welcomed the efforts to increase employment opportunities in the area.[28]

Throughout the objectors' campaign the local and national press included articles and letters, some of which came under sensational headings and presented the "heated" controversy: "Must the heart of Scott Country be ruined?" and "Not since the days of debatable lands and Border Raids has there been an issue more debatable or one more highly charged with controversy and emotion," [29] or "Bastion of Feudalism in the Borders." [30]

Some contributions were on a more sober key and included a variety of attempts from planners and other specialists to explain the main issues involved. The Tweed Valley Association which was formed to oppose the proposals and act as a pressure group, presented many of the opposition's views both in the press and during public meetings. They even distributed letters to the members of the Roxburgh County Council Planning Committee, urging them not to vote for the amendment which referred to Tweedbank.

The strongest voice objecting on the grounds of the effects on the Border way of life was that of Sir Philip Christison, a man with as many titles attached to his name as directorships in important industrial concerns. His long exposition during the Inquiry revolved around two main themes:

i. the infusion and concentration of large numbers from the outside, possibly Glasgow and other industrially congested areas, would present a threat to the Borders way of life. These people, stressed Sir Philip, have no idea of country life. They suffer from a disease called claustrophobia, they get locked into their houses and watch telly all day. [31] They would never become integrated and would have a negative effect on the existing social pattern.

ii. the introduction of labour from outside could present a serious threat to the existing pattern of industrial relations:

> — Do I understand your view is that the problem can be solved by production of more houses simply? — No, by the production of more houses and by the introduction of male-employing industry.
>
> — Do you consider that it would be an easy task to introduce male-employing industry into the Border area? — No, it is extremely difficult, because most of the male-employing industry is of either a highly technical description or the heavy industry description, in both of which wages are extremely high, and once you get a situation like that, you will get a great deal of social friction, you will get people who are at the moment content to work in the staple industries leaving, if they have got the ability and you are going to have an extremely delicate and difficult situation.
>
> — But I take it from what you have said that it is very highly desirable? — Yes, it is, and that is the difficulty, to bring in the type of industry which I would suggest might be a type which required a large I.Q. among its workers, which the local population on the whole are not able to compete with and are therefore not jealous of, something of that nature. [32]

In Sir Philip's opinion (expressing also the view of the South-East Scotland Local Employment Committee of the Ministry of Labour, of which

he was the Convener), the key to population increase and regeneration was housing.

> As there was no surplus of labour, the whole thing depended on housing, you first of all had to get your houses and then you would find that people would go into the houses, young people, and young people normally breed, and you build up your population. Then having got your houses, we wanted to see male-employing industry brought into each of the burghs so that there would be employment for the males and for the females there would be additional labour for the mills and the hosiery workers. who are notoriously short of female labour. [33]

The development of a new major centre could outshadow the importance of the existing burghs and destroy the "Border way of life."

> What in your view are the characteristics of the Border way of life to which you have just referred? — The Border way of life is essentially a rural way of life, our largest industry is still agricultural. This is based, of course, on a number of small or medium industrial centres. The Border people have always been fiercely independent and competitive, and the Border way of life is really based on that type of life, and if you destroy that, you destroy what we call in the Borders, the Border way of life, this is independence and vying with each other, proudness in their local institutions, as you can see, by their various riding outs and common ridings, and what-not. It is like the Highland way of life, the Border way of life, and in my view nothing should be done to destroy that. [34]

Sir Philip's fears (although not necessarily his suggestions as to the remedy nor his way of putting things) were shared by many for whom the Borders were a peaceful place to go shooting, fishing, or hill-walking, and thus recharge their batteries: hence obviously those with time and money to engage in such pursuits. The general idea, however, of large numbers of outsiders settling in the Borders

must have been worrying for a considerable number of local people in agricultural communities and for workers living in the burghs. Even if they welcomed the possibility of new jobs, new opportunities, improved road communications and improved facilities, those who would probably gain most from them would oppose incomers in varying degrees ranging from cool polite reserve to open refusal and hostility. For anyone who has heard Selkirk people complain of unfriendliness and the difficulty of integration in Galashiels after ten years' residence there, the idea of integrating 25,000 people from outside the Borders does not seem an easy undertaking.

The reasons cannot be sought alone in the differences in life styles between residents in the Border towns and residents of the big industrial centres. After all, as regards everyday life, there is no clear evidence that inhabitants of the Borders watch less television than, say, the inhabitants of Central Scotland. Besides, the opinions as to how high an amenity area is requried for incoming workers conflict with this idealised vision of rural life:

> — They have to be well housed and a nice place to live in.
>
> — And you would agree, I suppose, that present surroundings would be one aspect of high amenity which would provide an attraction? — Yes, present surroundings, but not to life in the middle of an area of high amenity and thereby wipe if off the map, somewhere where they could take the wife and kids in the afternoon and run the dog would be jolly nice, but not to plonk it down and destroy it altogether.[35]

The Reporter to the Secretary of State, reflecting the opinions of planners and Central State specialists, criticised these attitudes as follows:

> This is the old formula, the piecemeal solution which in the past has not come to anything; and there is little warrant for the hope that it would succeed in the future, unless it can be supported by some more comprehensive action which would draw the Border communities into a larger unity and give them a firmer base instead of emphasising their separateness. The attitude of those objectors reflects a deep-seated instinct to resist change, characteristic of remote communities which possess a highly individual ethos and are engaged in a struggle for survival. They want to keep their society and way of life intact and they do not welcome intrusion. [36]

This quotation is characteristic of the position taken throughout by the planners and by the Central State, namely that of a progressive force attempting to open up the Borders for a change and a better life.

On What Grounds did the Reporter Support the Scheme?

The Reporter recommended the rejection of the objections to Amendment No. 7 and the acceptance of the development at Darnick. The reasons were given in a statement which weighed the "losses against the gains," and which gave the following as the main considerations:

i. Darnick was a better site both "as an environment to life in and as a magnet for industry, and it was better related to the evolving communications pattern in the region." [37]

ii. Nevertheless, it was accepted that "it will no longer be the purely rural scene that it was. Although it may indeed gain in some ways, it will have lost something of its familiar character. This would matter less if this piece of country were not so famous for its historic and personal associations. The loss may be intangible but it will be felt as a loss all the same. This loss as well as the

damage to agriculture has to be weighed against the social and economic gains that the development of the site could bring to the Western Borders. In view of the critical situation of the Border economy and the importance of this project to the success of the general plan, it seems to me reasonable in all the circumstances that the claims of development should prevail." [38]

The need for early completion of the road schemes relating to Tweedbank and for extra care in the design, layout and landscaping of of the proposed development were particularly stressed. Reference to examples of bad development in the Galashiels-Melrose area put an extra tone of caution in the expressed need for "firm exercise of controls more skilled and authoritative than those exercised in the past by the County Council." [39]

e. What Became of Tweedbank?

The legal battle against Roxburgh Council led by Mrs. Constance Hamilton, the landowner of Lowood, lasted nearly three years. Her final withdrawal was seen as a major victory by the Council. In the meantime criticism ran high: the local Member of Parliament, Mr. David Steel (Liberal), stated publicly that he found it astonishing "that one person should be so unfeeling as to go on frustrating a 'major development' at a time when unemployment in Scotland was so high." [40] In the words of the local press, "local dignitaries expressed their horror. . . how could this landowner have the audacity to block a scheme of houses and factories which were deemed as vital for the area's propserity?" [41]

Mrs. Hamilton accused the planners for being the main vandals and destroying the environment. Concentrating on the development of the remaining land at Broomiless Farm, Darnick, she had a 70-foot high silo installed, clearly visible from Tweedbank, much to the planners' consternation.

Building was started on Tweedbank amid much publicity. The site proved difficult for sewage works and landscaping. By 1976, three years after the scheme was launched with an official tree-planting ceremony, 234 houses had been built by the SSHA and the school was ready to open. Tweedbank, once the 10 million pilot project, the "Trigger" for industrial growth in the region, now a £24 million scheme, was shelved by the SSHA, on the grounds that the current economic climate called for strict financial control. Sufficient industry had not been attracted to Tweedbank, and incoming workers were also in short supply. Work would start again when there would be expression of interest again from the side of incoming industry.

Reaction was mixed. Regional officers expressed dismay and fear that this action would frustrate any efforts to attract industry from outside. The "Border Build Up Campaign" which had been carried out only recently showed an interest from potential incoming workers, but there were no jobs. The shelving of Tweedbank would be a big blow for those who were trying their best to bring in industry.

The Chief Executive of Ettrick and Lauderdale District Council, however, saw in this action by the SSHA only an expression of the general economic climate. Council housing in general was being cut back. Given the cost of houses (between £12,000 and £15,000 each), no one could afford to build them if there was no market for them.

The problem, in his view, was that the recent loss of jobs in the Galashiels-Selkirk area (nearly 400) had left no places open in the new industries for incoming workers, as local unemployment had to be dealt with first.

Councillor G. Graham, Secretary of the Borders Trades Council, stated the Council's view that despite their initial reservations about the development, they had supported it in the end on the grounds that, once it was decided, "everyone should make a go of it." In the process millions of pounds had already been spent on services which would be wasted if development did not go on.

But perhaps the importance of Tweedbank's problems can be better understood in the light of the effect it has had on other housebuilding and improvement plans in the area. Given the failure to acquire New Town status for Tweedbank, much of the expenditure for the scheme came from the block grant allocation. The region's commitment to Tweedbank meant axing other programmes in the Borders, as overall cuts were being imposed by the Government. In other words, the development scheme which was originally a Government's commitment to the economic regeneration of the Borders had, by 1976, become a big burden on Border local authority finances. For the region it was not only a matter of prestige or of planning priority, but of hard cash as well. As the Region's Chief Executive, Mr. K. Clark, put it, "they had a massive investment at Tweedbank, and if they did not spend the necessary money, they would be unable to market their investment." [42]

On the other hand, voicing the worries of those who lost to the Tweedbank development, Councillor F. Scott of Hawick pointed out that lots of Border areas, although they have gained nothing from the Tweedbank development, are seeing their own programmes axed because of it (eight new schemes costing £170,000 had already been axed in his area alone).

Meanwhile, despite the SSHA's substantial withdrawal, great publicity was given to the emerging community spirit at Tweedbank, including the organisation of a local festival.

By 1977 Tweedbank, now a £30 million development, was declared a non-starter. The inhabitants of the 300 houses which had been completed were a mix of local rehabilitated families, some incoming workers, students from the Galashiels College of Textiles and even some retired people. The isolation of the scheme from Galashiels was a great problem, while even shopping meant a long and tiring expedition for the women. Some time spent at Tweedbank, waiting at bus stops beside harrassed-looking mothers trying to cope with bags of shopping and tired kids, or listening to young students from the College of Textiles talking about their windswept and isolating experience living up there, can tell one more than pages of views and considerations, and can add to the explanations of the high tenancy turnover in the housing scheme.

By 1981, Tweedbank was seen to be so far removed from the purpose for which it was started that the most hopeful move was the proposal by the Borders Regional Council and by the SSHA to build houses for nurses and other hospital staff working in the region's new hospital

two miles from the scheme. The Health Board was considering the case, but was finding the decision difficult since the design of the required 200 residential places located next to the main hospital had already gone ahead. Further changes in policy had to be effected to allow service industry to settle in the scheme which had been envisaged for manufacturing industry. In the present economic climate, with severe cut-backs, the whole house-building programme in the district has come to a standstill until there is again demand for houses.

CHAPTER 7

THE INTERRELATION BETWEEN HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT — THE ROLE OF THE STATE: CONCLUSIONS

The Interrelation Between Housing and Employment — the Role of the State

On the level of the market employment and housing appear to be closely linked. The fundamental problem is that of matching houses to workers and for its satisfactory solution emphasis is put on two poles: (a) the ability to predict population movements in relation to industry for a more adequate prediction of housing needs; and (b) the availability of the necessary financial resources as well as of the organisational and technical set-up for the production of the housing stock.

In a capitalist economy the possibilities for successful planning ahead are always limited, despite the growing arsenal of projection techniques, planning policies, incentives and disincentives. Looking back now to the 1960's and the barrage of regional development measures, the rhetoric, the sophisticated planning reports, while standing on this side of the river with mass unemployment amidst the deepening crisis, the temptation to smile with a sense of futility is strong indeed.

But the aim of the thesis and the presentation of material in its historical context, which has preceded this chapter, is neither to evaluate the techniques applied in the efforts for the economic regeneration of the Borders, not to apportion blame and responsibility for the delay of the Tweedbank development and the subsequent lack of response

from industry. The supporters of the development would claim bitterly that the long delay which was due to the selfishness and anachronistic attitudes of landowners (especially M rs. Hamilton's) proved to be fatal for Tweedbank by setting it back in the face of approaching crisis. The objectors would claim, with equal fervour, that by choosing an unsuitable location and trying to impose a certain model of development SDD officials and planners wasted time and effort and public opinion mobilisation, only to see their folly reasserting itself a few years later. And what of the "Borders people" carrying on in their "Borders way of life"? They still continue to complain about the lack of good infrastructure, especially as regards travel, the the lack of job opportunities, the exodus of the young, the rise in prices, the "tightening of the belt." That all these have been and seem to remain part of the "Borders way of life," characteristic of such areas and shared to some extent by working class and low middle class people all over the country may indeed be acknowledged in conversation by Borders people, but was not publicly stated during the public inquiries by the "defenders" of the "Borders way of life" like Sir Philip Christison.

What we are attempting here is to base the analysis of this interrelation and the elaboration of the links between the two (namely housing and employment) on the fundamental social relation between capital and labour, the need for capital to reproduce the crucial commodity labour power in the face of class struggle, and the contradiction inherent in the process of capital accumulation. Such an analysis must take into account the different forms of this fundamental

social relation as well as of the issue of reproduction of labour power in their historical specificity:

I. Availability of labour, the Expansion of the Textile Industry and Housing for Labour in the Borders During the 19th Century

The need for skilled labour and the burden of reproduction of labour power.

In nineteenth century Borders, especially Hawick and Galashiels, the developing woollen and hosiery industries found their initial supply of labour power locally and from the surrounding countryside. The source was primarily the latent reserve army of labour: dispossesed farm tenants and farm labourers set free by capitalist organisation in agriculture, and a smaller section of floating reserve army of labour: unemployed textile workers from nearby declining industries. The already established section of skilled craftsmen, especially weavers and stockingmakers, put up a long resistance to capital and the slavery of factory work. When the employers responded by employing women and children (once this was possible after the introduction of lighter machinery which could be used by them), the results were not immediately felt within the ranks of the craftsmen.

Especially in the woollen industry, as we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, due to its small scale and emphasis on high quality goods — given also the still low level of sophistication in machinery for such products — craft labour continued to be important and to exist alongside the ongoing deskilling process in the local factories.

Furthermore, when these independent craftsmen did pass into the ranks of factory workers, they were still within a craft based industry, putting a high premium on skilled labour in an essentially agricultural area and away from centres of accumulation and, consequently, of enclaves of floating reserve army of labour.

Nevertheless, the local textile industry did not exist in isolation from the rest of the industry nationally and internationally, and fluctuations in profitability, crises, etc. did affect its performance as well. During crisis periods the danger of not having a locally based reserve army of labour pushed manufacturers to secure their existing labour force even though it meant paying them to be idle.

In other words, the provision and reproduction of labour power was a burden and a responsibility falling on local industrial capital. This was also the case with the other basic conditions of production needed locally, especially services and infrastructure. During that historical period the state had not yet taken a decisive role in the provision of the basic conditions of production and in the reproduction of labour power. Such problems, therefore, were solved:

a. on the basis of local strength of industrial capital and cooperation secured from other fractions of capital, especially finance capital and the still prominent big landowners, who owned sources of power, especially water and land;

b. in the light of class struggle locally; the prominent form was the resistance by craft-labour coupled later on with the bargaining strength of skilled labour, and the militancy on occasions of unskilled labour (e.g., dyers labourers striking for better wages).

As we saw in the beginning of Chapter 2 the state did get involved during the early steps of emerging capitalism. Such were the cases of the compensation offered after the Treaty of Union and the active role of the Board of Trustees for Scotland in securing standards for the production of wool and training Scottish labour in textile skills. Although initially the compensation was given for the loss of trade in wool and the wool-growers saw the small benefit there was from it, eventually the Board did manage to play a role, especially in encouraging production of woollens through grants and prices. Within it, interests differed representing different sections of merchant and small scale nacent industrial capital. D. Loch as we have seen was very active as a Board member and passionately advocated the development of the woollen industry. Although the Board of Trustees was not strictly speaking a section of the state apparatus, as it existed at that time, we could argue that it did have characteristics common with the present day Boards of Trade and Development Agencies, in combining the representation of capital interests under the auspices of state domination. (Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find extensive information concerning this body.)

Within this framework concerning the development of industry, the great importance of local factors in terms of raw materials, power and labour and the prevalence of competitive capital, what form did the housing question take?

To begin with, the lack of housing emerged as a problem for the local industry following the big influx of population, which in both the big industrial burghs of the area took place in the mid nineteenth century. The immediate response was overcrowding, among existing old housing stock and mills, soon after, for the employers to produce a part of the housing for the incoming workers at a rent. The continuing presence of a strong element of craft labour working at home — thus continuing a domestic system of production but along capitalist lines — also meant that part of the necessary labour force lived in houses owned either by local small sections of the "urban bourgeoisie" or by themselves.

Given the isolation of the area, the dependence of the textile industry on skilled labour and high prices for foodstuffs, coal, and rents, the high value of labour power locally was for a long time a problem for capital. By 1908, according to the Report of an Inquiry into the Cost of Living of the Working Classes [1] the price index for Galashiels featured higher (105) than that of Edinburgh (100) and in some cases as with meat, even higher (110). Rents although not higher than Edinburgh were still considerably high at (69). The combined rent and prices index for Galashiels (96) compared to London (100) was only slightly lower than Edinburgh (98), and slightly higher than Glasgow (94).[2]

Unfortunately, we have no similar information for Hawick during that time, or for either burgh earlier in the nineteenth century. From secondary sources, however, and the comments of contemporaries, as well as J. Wilson's statements during the Inquiry by the Royal Commission on Labour [3] it is quite clear that the cost of living was high and so were wages (at least for skilled labour).[4]

In this light workers owner occupation, which developed especially in Hawick within the local cooperative movement, was essentially a bonus to local industrial capital, which could thus pass some of the cost of labour power onto the shoulders of the local working class.

In Chapter 3 we referred more extensively to the problematic of the significance of workers owner-occupation for the workers as well as for their employers. For the employers it lowered costs of reproduction of labour power, but also, had a valuable impact upon the reproduction of social relations, and consequently the reproduction of aspects of bourgeois ideology among the local working class. It is in this sense that housing relates not only to physical reproduction but also to ideological reproduction, as the centre of family practices both in the physical and ideological sense.

For the workers owner occupation meant security and, in the case of craftsmen, a place to carry on with their work. There is, however, another important issue here, namely the use of women not only as wage-labour directly employed in the factory or workshop,

but also as a source of labour power locally available — as a part of the stagnant reserve army of labour.

As wage labour women were engaged at lower rates than men either in the factory or within their home (mostly doing spinning) and carried on with their domestic labour — unpaid labour for reproduction purposes — thus offering a double service to capital. But especially for those working at home, demand for their wage labour fluctuated according to the industry's needs.

The importance, therefore, of an adequate supply of female labour at hand could hardly be overestimated.[5]

II. Depopulation, the Labour Needs of the Borders Textile Industry and the Role of Housing in the Economic Regeneration of the Borders in the 1960's

In the mid 1960's some of the fundamental features and problems relating to employment and housing appear to persist:

- the percentage of female labour is still very high;
- despite the existing infrastructure, the Borders considerably lag behind the centres of industry;
- housing for labour is still presented as a crucial factor for the attraction of new workers to the area.

The overall economic climate is of course very different within the region and the textile industry, especially in the hosiery and

knitwear sectors, although it has managed to survive and to keep up profitability through a strong export position, is no more generating employment.

Perhaps the most pressing need of the local industry was and still is in the process of restructuring — that of securing an adequate, locally available source of labour reserve army, a big section of which must be women, to be used both as wage-labour and for the reproduction of this "pool of labour" to secure a healthier population structure in the region.

And here is the crux of the matter: Who will carry the burden of securing this fundamental condition of production, i.e. labour power and of its reproduction? Two main problems were involved here:

1. How to attract new workers in the Borders and the cost involved in this process.

2. What was necessary was to attract families, not simply single workers. Thus the textile industry would be provided with the —necessary, as it saw it — pool of female labour and as in the words of Sir Philip Christison during the Public Inquiry, "young people breed," the area would also eventually get the population rise it needed.

What of the men? As there were not enough jobs for them, male employing industry should be encouraged to settle in the area which would absorb this available male labour while aiding the diversification of industry in the region. The availability of housing for the incoming

labour was, as we can see, of crucial importance.

To the question of who should carry the burden for all this, the answer was clear: The State. What parts of the state apparatus? For a long time — nearly ten years — representation of the local ruling classes knocked on the door for regional development assistance and worked through the South of Scotland Local Employment Committee of the Ministry of Labour, whose main concern was, as the Convenor Sir Philip Christison put it:

> About the situation from the employment point of view in the Borders:
>
> The nature of our concern was to help industry to expand, they could not expand if they did not get the labour, and our chief concern was to try and get government assistance or devise means by which labour could be produced, and as I said in my evidence, the first thing we came to conclude was that we must have houses. [6]

Local authorities also tried within their range to attract new industry and to provide the houses.

In Chapter 5 we referred in more detail to the high activity in the sector of council housing. But their efforts were not enough to tackle the problem. So, in the late 1960's, given also the changed climate prevailing in Regional Policy, which put an emphasis on overall economic growth (and not only on the relief of unemployment), the Scottish Development Department stepped in to deliver the goods. In this effort there was to be state presence on the side of industrial development with local authority owning part of the land and the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) undertaking a big chunk of site

development and factory provision at Tweedbank. As regards housing: the Scottish Special Housing Association posessed both flexibility and freedom from being accountable to local political forces, at least, and seemed to be the most suitable agent.

What reception did the SDD get? From the consideration of events and a careful reading of the public inquiry papers, reaction was mixed and, in any case, strong.

Let us summarize the positions of the various parties involved:

1. The SDD officials together with the planning and economic experts who promoted Tweedbank Development and the Central Borders Plan saw in this effort a valuable chance for the Borders and the Borders People to get out of the critical situation characterised by depopulation, a net death rate and economic stagnation.

The main problems were those of executing the project with the right care and know-how in order to ensure a development scheme of the highest quality within realistic parameters of cost and time.

The bulk of the objectors were, to them, selfish landowners or unrealistic romantics, people who wanted to keep the Borders as a shooting and hunting paradise to come and "fill their batteries" every so often, or, for those who actually lived in the area, to continue with their patterns of social domination resembling remnants of older feudal practices. These selfish people did not care much about the

real and pressing needs of the Borders people. For the latter, the lack of infrastructure, physical and social, the lack of jobs, of reasonably priced housing, of good shopping and cultural recreational centres and the high cost of services offered by the local authority to an ageing population scattered over the countryside formed the realities of "the Borders way of life."

The SDD stood for progress and the good of the Borders People as well as for the support of the local textile industry.

2. For the bulk of the objectors there were certain points of agreement between them:

a. The economic regeneration of the Borders was badly needed. State assistance was welcome

but

b. The chosen site for the initial development at Darnick was a thoroughly bad choice, costly and environmentally hazardous.

c. The suggested plans for development and the idea of an influx of 25,000 people — possibly from Glasgow and other urban places of unemployment — as well as of their concentration within one area in the Borders — harbored grave dangers for the existing local patterns of social relations, and especially industrial relations.

Over and above these points different people and organisations objected on more specific grounds.

3. The representatives of (a) the local textile industry and (b) the local working class, especially the industrial sector, supported the scheme and made certain public declarations to this effect, but otherwise took little part in the controversy. Let us consider their position for a moment:

a. The Local Textile Industry

With the exception of Bernat Klein (who was to leave the Borders a bit later on), the local textile industry favoured the scheme as it would provide the industry — hopefully — with a locally based "pool" of female, primarily, labour. This was the case more with the woollen branch based in Galashiels. The hosiery and knitwear branch mostly concentrated under Dawson International in Hawick was in a stronger position with good exports and continued being profitable into the 1970's despite the crisis. One way of dealing with it was the wave of closures in the 1970's, which cost the Borders many jobs. The firm's attitude had often been summarised by A. Smith, Managing Director and owner of a large part of it at that time: in short it was a mixture of free market ideology with a clearly delineated position for state action where the industry needs it — Let us do the job and provide us with the necessary conditions without meddling too much — was the message coming across.

Who were the rest of the concerns in this field? Although by the mid 1970's a significant number of small, specialised firms still existed, the presence of a number of multinationals (mostly large ones) was strongly felt at it was within these large groups that closures

have taken place in the process of concentration and efforts to cut down on production costs by these firms: The Guthrie Corporation Ltd. dealing with rubber, petroleum, timber, tea, and carpets; The Imperial Tobacco Group Ltd. dealing mostly with foodstuffs, drinks, and tobacco; Courtaulds Ltd. specialising in synthetics; Holland & Lewis (Holdings) Ltd.; Scottish Worsteds & Woolens Ltd. Group; British Cotton & Wool Dyers' Association.[7]

b. The Local Working Class through the National Union of General and Municipal Workers supported the scheme on the grounds that Border people needed jobs and all the services and facilities offered by an economically live place.

If we remember that the level of unionisation in the Borders was — and still is — very low, then there may be question-marks concerning the representativeness of their declaration in support of the scheme, and the consequent plans for development.

In the numerous public discussions which were organised by the Tweed Valley Association or by the SDD, those of the locals who do join such exercises in public participation did manage to voice their opinions, which was close to supporting the idea of development but not necessarily the particular proposals.

Crucial issues about labour conditions in the Borders industry and about social practices of domination were left out. Where discussion started labour exploitation of a most anachronistic (for capital, too) way was already taken for granted.

Throughout the controversy there were certain assumptions, some of which remained central in advertising the Borders for development:

a. That this was an area with a tradition of good labour relations, long absence of labour disputes, providing industry with a conscientious labour force, with the proud Borderer proud in doing a job well and ready to cooperate. As we have seen in Chapter 3, especially Hawick in the late nineteenth century was not immune from industrial and political struggle.

b. That the existing textile firms and the new ones settling in are of the small "family" type industrial unit with close, friendly relations between employers and employees. From statements in the press and the information in the industrial Who's Who produced by the Border Region it is evident that what is meant here are small scale manufacturing branches of larger firms, and often big multinationals (locally based but by no means locally controlled), often employing whole families of workers.

c. That the "Borders way of Life," a nebulous concept combining aspects of rural life and nostalgia which was defended by representatives of the local ruling classes in the name of all Border People was put in danger by the proposed development.

These assumptions present, we feel, the facets of what we would call the locally specific complex of social relations of reproduction: the reproduction of, precisely, what both local textile industry and

incoming monopoly capital valued most: the docile, cooperative, proud-to-do-a-job-well Borderer (male and female). And here is where the state's action appears to be contradictory: by acting in the interests of capital at large as represented to a certain extent at least by the monopolies as the dominant form of capital in advanced capitalism, it seemed to endanger the established patterns of reproduction of labour power in the Borders, apart from coming into conflict with landed capital.

We feel that it is an oversimplification to present this conflict of interests as the monopolies acting against local capital. But it can be argued that the state in this and similar cases, acts according to assumptions, techniques, projections which are developed within a framework which is closer to the needs and effects of monopoly capital and it is in this light that we must understand the "opening up" of the regions. What is contradictory even within this understanding is the fact that, like in the case of the Borders, "apparently anachronistic" practices which have proved successful in reproducing a cheap and docile labour force may be upset by state action, yet they may be of great service to monopoly capital, often seeking such labour to introduce harsher conditions in the process of restructuring.

The state is not only involved in such contradictions, but also carries out its role in what often is an inefficient, haphazard way. As J. Hirsch has put it;[8] state action must be understood in the light of the "relative contingency" of the state apparatus and as it reflects

the anarchy of competitive valorisation.

Indeed perhaps the most interesting feature emerging in the course of the research was the lack of rationality, effectiveness and continuity in state action.

By translating contradictions concerning the reproduction of labour power in the physical and ideological sense into "housing issues" and technical considerations concerning the choice of suitable sites for development the essence of the problem is mystified and concealed.

As a final comment, therefore, we would like to argue that the "obvious" linking up between housing for labour and employment can be better understood in the light of the forms of social relations prevailing in the reproduction of labour power (both physically and ideologically) while taking into account the particular historical determinations in the process of capitalist development. These forms of social relations of reproduction cannot but embody contradictions which, in advanced capitalism, tend to (a) appear as problems of state action in an effort to reconcile conflicting interests, and (b) be translated into technical issues thus attributing failures to effectively solve crucial problems relating to housing and employment either to the bigotry and short-sightedness of bastions of anachronistic practices (as was the case with Border gentry and landowners) or to the alleged tendency in planning experts to produce ambitious and not realistic enough plans to match the "prevailing economic climate."

Postscript

During research into local history of the Borders for the purposes of understanding the interrelation between housing and employment, inevitably a series of questions arose concerning the dominant forms of social relations, as well as the contrast between the industrial towns of Hawick and Galashiels.

Basic issues concerning these questions are touched upon in the main body of this thesis but could not be elaborated. The decision to follow a broad analysis made it impossible to consider such questions in depth, while severe limitations imposed by lack of finance and having to finish the thesis abroad put a stop to further consultation of sources and research.

There is, however some value in discussing these questions not only because they are quite important for further possible elaboration of the main subject here, but also for the possible delineation of future research.

A. The myth of the docile, non-militant Border worker.

Throughout the Public Inquiries as well as in all brochures advertising the Borders for attracting industry the non-militant character of the Border labour force is stressed. Yet it is clear, as we have briefly mentioned earlier on in this thesis, that mid-nineteenth century Hawick was a stronghold of Radicalism shaken by street riots, overt labour militancy and strong resistance, especially from the Stocking-makers, to the development of the factory system and the introduction of modern machinery.

Local commentators like R. Murray[9] refer to Hawick in the late 1830s as a center of hot debate concerning voting issues and describe violent

scenes where angry liberals stripped Tory voters naked and threw them into the water, and stockingmakers paraded through the town carrying stocking frames and throwing dye on passers by.

The long strike by stocking-makers during which these craftsmen and their families suffered great hardship was another example of overt and determined industrial action.[10] General comments about Hawick society speak of broken families, swelling numbers of the poor relief lists, lack of "moral standards". What emerges from the variety of commentaries is the realisation that the Hawick working class did not act according to the values of thrift, orderly work and behaviour in family life as well as in work habits, that is according to the forms of social relations which were seen as correct by the local ruling classes.

In Galashiels such militancy and disorderly behaviour was quite unheard of and, moreover, was openly critisized. Although craft labour, especially weavers was present in this town as well, the development of the factory system was a much smoother process as well as the introduction of new machinery. Hand weaving existed side by side with the mechanised looms in the mills while local weavers as a whole enjoyed a high standard of living compared to the rest of the country, and exercised protective control over pay-rates[12]. On the whole, Galashiels society was a lot more "orderly" there were no great numbers seeking poor relief, and local control was exercised by the representatives of church and state in a manner which continued the established patterns of social control of behaviour in 17th century Galashiels[13].

In the light of the above, therefore, two questions arise,

1. How can we understand labour militancy and political upheaval in Hawick?

2. How can we account for the differences between the two industrial towns and what is the significance of this contrast for the inter-relation between housing and employment?

1. The stockingmakers of Hawick were small artisans caught in the double trap of combination laws on the one hand and the growing factory system on the other. Unlike the weavers who were recognised as one of the incorporated trades and had their own organizations and standards for protecting their trade, stockingmakers had to lead a precarious and secret association existence. Meetings of the illegal stockingmakers society were often disrupted by police and representatives were taken to prison.[14] Various practices developed as a response to this, including placing the money for contributions on a table in the dark so that the identity of the secretary was not disclosed. On one occasion a dog was put in the place of the chairman of the meeting[15]. Caught between two fires the stockingmakers had to engage into action which embodied strong elements of working class consciousness, while appearing to fight against progress with their resistance to the introduction of mechanisation in the hosiery sector, which they rightly saw as a threat to their existence. To be sure, exploitation of the stockingmakers was severe (as has been briefly discussed in this thesis)[16] and it could be shown that in many ways they were worse off than factory workers. John Foster in his study of two industrial towns during early capitalism raises an important point as regards radicalism during that period:

> So although the movement was mainly proletarian in composition and provided the soil in which socialist theory could grow (and would grow in the following decade) it seems too early to talk about "working class consciousness." More probably what one is dealing with on a mass scale is a very special form of trade union consciousness. If it was the defence of living standards that gave the redicals their position of leadership, its effective practice involved much more. It demanded the development of a coercive occupational solidarity extending to all sections of the labour community.[17]

The study of Hawick and of the stockingmakers in particular is a fascinating subject in itself, offering to the researcher a rich ground for the understanding of the conflict between older and emerging forms of social relations as well as the translation of this conflict into political issues. In this light issues concerning housing and tenure acquire a specific importance when they are approached from the standpoint of sections of the labour community caught in this conflict.

2. For the weavers of Galashiels the situation was quite different, and indeed, as we have mentioned, unique even compared to the rest of Britain. Given the character of the tweed industry which depended heavily on high quality, exclusive design products, as well as the level of sophistication of the power loom which did not suit such delicate operations, hand weavers enjoyed a privileged position. Moreover, their long established strong organization offered them protection and a considerable amount of control over wage rates troughout the Borders. Parallel to this stood the successful integration of the labour force into the factory system which seems to have been consolidated in Galashiels with a lot less friction.

How are we to understand the contrast between the two towns?

A proper answer, theoretically and empirically sound, would require research which should take into consideration: a) the different forms of social organisation which had existed in the two towns before industrialisation, and b) the degree of continuity and reproduction of social control practices from the pre-industrial to the industrial towns. Hawick was a busy trading town enjoying special privileges, while Galashiels was little more than a village, without trading rights of its own, handed down like private property to influential families, under the strict control of the Kirk elders.

Emerging capitalism and the factory system found less resistance amongst the dispossessed rural workers who flocked in to swell the ranks of a locally available rural population, than amongst the independent craftsmen of Hawick who found themselves vulnerable against the combined privations coming from the factory system and the laissez-faire ideology. It is against this complex background of the local specificity of the operation of general laws of social development that we should try to understand different forms of class struggle, the question of reproduction of labour power and housing issues.

B. Similar questions to the above become even more difficult to answer when we move to the 1960s and 70s. The available sources such as the census, while offering pages and pages of computation of numbers arranged according to occupational categories and housing standard categories, tell us nothing of the prevailing forms of social organisation. During the research this stood out in stark colours; namely the different coverage, qualitatively, of the census. Moreover, the availability of more detailed analysis of census material only in computerised form while having its undisputable uses restricts the availability of such material to those who have the specialised know-how.

To get a clearer picture about this period one has also to use sources like the local press, the papers of the public inquiries, public actions by pressure groups operating in the area, and, of course, interviews with key officials and workers. I have been able to use the public inquiry papers extensively, as well as to consult the local and national press. Interviewing has been beyond my reach. Nevertheless, a series of discussions with local old workers retired or still working in the textile industry, as well as officials and some of the planners involved, helped me acquire a certain amount of

understanding. To begin with, there are of course methodological questionmarks as regards the validity and use of oral history. I personally found it to be valuable in aiding my understanding. Further on, when it came to officials the high degree of secrecy displayed by some of the planners who had been involved made it hard for me to understand what the actual criteria were for the choice of Tweedbank as a suitable sight. Given the fact that we were dealing with an event which took place at least 15 years ago this reaction appeared all the more strange in my eyes. One issue which did however arise and which I feel offers a very interesting proposition was the reaction of the Regional officials. To them Tweedbank was past history, something to do with eccentric Border aristocracy or landowners like Mrs. Hamilton who amongst other eccentricities talked of the 'white lady' who appeared regularly to her and warned her that Darnick should not be sold. To these officials, many of whom came from out-with the Borders with Local Authority reorganisation, bringing with them the prominent corporate management approach, such instances did show quite clearly the remnants of feudal closed society resisting progress and rationality of which they were the bearers. Such discussions were valuable additions to the formal papers and the Public Inquity papers and did point towards a question which touches upon the significance of Local Authority reorganisation:

What is the wider significance of bringing in a body of officials, from areas outside the Borders, loyal only to the State apparatus and moreover confident that they know how to do the job of governing well, characterising the local elected representatives as amateurs in this field and looking upon local power struggles with an air of amusement if not contempt?[18] In depth research of local councils over a number of years before and after reorganisation is hardly an easy matter but could

possibly reveal a lot of important corners concerning the local state in areas with the characteristics of the Borders.

C. As regards state action there are a number of other important considerations here concerning the role and character of the Scottish Special Housing Association. The SSHA with its flexibility and high degree of technology in the sphere of construction comparable only to large firms like Wimpey has been and still is an important tool of housing policy in connection also with regional development and providing the basic conditions for industrial penetration of rural areas.

Attempts on my part to discuss with SSHA officials concerning their policy in a way which goes beyond reiterating what is stated in their publicity brochures have been largely frustrated. Even the little I came to know concerning the organisation of this association and the dilemma which arose in its Tweedbank performance pursuaded me of the value in doing research concerning such State tools and this one more particularly.

The Tweedbank controversy is a very suitable case for revealing conflicts and contradictions within the State apparatus, as well as between the state administration and the representatives of local capital and the rulling classes e.g. landowners and industrialists. Such contradictions have a great effect on housing since they greatly determine through the main directions given in decisions about where and how to allocate finance concerning the construction of new housing as well as modernisation grants etc.

To summ up: there are a number of questions arising from the complexity and richness of local labour history and the Tweedbank controversy more specifically, as it appeared within the wider considerations

of regional policy in the Borders. I could not consider them fully given the limitations already mentioned above. Hopefully someone else has done so already or will do so in the future. In terms of method and its linking up with theory perhaps the point I have come to realize most is the necessity for Marxist Sociology in particular to develop analytical tools for analysing the numerous and complex forms of the reproduction of dominant forms of social relations in their local and historical specificity.

Endnotes

Chapter One

[1]K. Marx, Capital (Pelikan), Vol. 1., p. 711.

[2]Ibid., p. 716.

[3]Ibid., p. 718.

[4]Ibid., p. 717.

[5]Ibid., p. 718.

[6]Ibid., pp. 723,724.

[7]Ibid., pp. 782,783.

[8]T. C. Smout, History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (Fontana, 1972), pp. 283-287.

[9]Ibid., p. 286.

[10]Living standards, i.e. the value of labour power, embody a historically determined cultural element.

[11]Marx, pp. 796, 797.

[12]Ibid., p. 797.

[13]Ibid., p. 798.

[14]H. Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the 19th Century (Monthly Review Press, 1974), p. 401.

[15]A. Friend and A. Metcalf, Slump City: The Politics of Mass Unemployment (Pluto Press, 1981), Chapter 2.

[16]Ibid., p. 57.

[17]A good exposition of the main arguments and information can be found in E. Wilson, Women and the Welfare State (Tavistock Womens Studies, 1979); C. Aldred, Women at Work; London-Edinburgh Weekend Return Group, In and Against the State (1979).

Chapter One (Continued)

[18]The 1915 rent strike in Glasgow was primarily organised by women but little is known and referred to concerning their action at that very important struggle.

[19]Cf. H. Braverman.

[20]Veronica Beechey, "Some Notes on Female Wage Labour in Capitalist Production," Capital and Class, No. 3, Autumn 1977, p. 60.

[21]J. Holloway and S. Picciotto, "Capital Crisis and the State," Capital and Class, No. 2, Summer 1977.

[22]As we shall see in Chapter 6 this image of the state as "The common enemy hitting from outside against the Border people" was strong during the controversy over Tweedbank.

[23]J. Hirsch, "The State Apparatus and Social Reproduction: Elements of a Theory of the Bourgeois State," The State and Capital, eds. J. P. Holloway and S. Picciotto (J. Arnold, 1977).

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid.

[27]We have already mentioned the need for capital to socialise the costs of the production of advanced technology in our reference to J. Hirsch earlier in this chapter.

[28]O'Connor, The Fiscal Crisis of the State, p. 10.

[29]Ibid., p. 90.

[30]Edinburgh-London Weekend Return Group, In and Against the State, p. 36.

[31]For a presentation of opposite views on this issue cf. Simon Clarke: "Capital, Fractions of Capital and the State: 'Neo-Marxist Analyses of the South African State," Capital and Class, No. 5, Summer 1978; John Solomos, "The Marxist Theory of the State and the Problems of Fractions: Some Theoretical and Methodological Remarks," Capital and Class, No. 7, Spring 1979.

Chapter One (Continued)

[32]"Local Government Becomes Big Business," CDP Publications.

[33]For a discussion of this process see J. Lambert et al, Housing Policy and the State: Allocation, Access and Control (MacMillan Press, 1978).

[34]Cf. R. Hall, History of Galashiels (Galashiels, 1978).

[35]C. Smout in his History of Scottish People refers to the particularities of the kinship system in the Borders.

[36]For the use of this term see S. Damer, "Housing and Early Working Class Legislation," Capital and Class, No. 4. More extensive reference is given in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

[37]Cf. Chapter 6 of this thesis.

[38]For a discussion of this issue see Chapter 3 of this thesis.

[39]Cf. S. Dámer, "Housing and Early Working Class Legislation."

[40]For a discussion of this process see Cynthia Cockburn, The Local State: Management of Cities and People (Pluto Press, 1977); and J. Lambert.

[41]A Scottish movers' survey carried out between October 1972 - October 1973 appears to be validating this point: "The data suggests that there is greater mobility across local authority boundaries for movers into other tenures (especially the private rented, owner occupied and SSHA sectors) than for movers into the local authority sector." "Research into Mobility and Local Authority Housing," unpublished paper presented at a conference on housing policy in Aberdeen, 1978, p. 3.

Chapter Two

[1]R. Hall, History of Galashiels. See list of tenants in Chapter 1.

[2]C. Gulvin The Tweedmakers p. 48

[3]C. Gulvin The Treaty of Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry 1700-1760 S.H.R. L2 No 150 (Oct. 1971)

[4]C. Smout, History of the Scottish People, Ch. VII, Part 3.

[5]Ibid, p. 161.

[6]C. Gulvin The Tweedmakers p. 18.

[7]Reference to wives of hosiery workers' unpaid labour.

[8]B. Wilson The Industrial Development of Hawick T.H.A.S. (1953)

[9]R. Hall History of Galashiels.

[10]K. Marx, Capital, Vol. 1, p. 305.

[11]C. Gulvin The Treaty of Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry.

[12]Ibid

[13]D. Loch, Essays on the Trade, Commerce, Manufacture and Fisheries of Scotland, October (1778).

[14]C. Smout, History of the Scottish People.

[15]Some families employed a weaver known as "custom weaver" to do all the necessary weaving for the household and provided the wool and basic materials, but not the tools (loom, etc.) which he provided. He was the most independent in terms of production, pace and design of all weavers.

[16]C. Gulvin The Tweedmakers p. 62.

[17]J. G. Martindale, "The Rise and Growth of the Tweed Industry in Scotland," Scottish College of Textiles (1966)

[18]C. Gulvin The Tweedmakers p. 60.

Chapter Two (continued)

[19]A. Somerville, The Autobiography of a Working Man (London 1848), Ch. 1.

[20]C. Gulvin The Tweedmakers p. 62.

[21]C. Smout History of the Scottish People p.

[22]R. Hall, History of Galashiels.

[23]Ibid

[24]C. Smout The History of the Scottish People.

[25]Somerville, Autobiography.

[26]R. Hall History of Galashiels

[27]Ibid.

[28]Reference in Karen Mckechnie, A Border Woollen Town in the Industrial Revolution, p. 8.

[29]R. Hall, History of Galashiels, p. 76

[30]D. Loch, A Tour Through the Trading Towns and Villages of Scotland (Edinburgh 1778,1779).

Chapter Two (Continued)

[31] R. Hall, History of Galashiels, p. 61.

[32] Ibid.

[33] R. E. Scott, "Hawick's Eternal Council and Public Officials in the Early Part of the 19th Century," Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society (1969), 1952-1956.

[34] B. Wilson, "The Industrial Development of Hawick," Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society (1953).

[35] Ibid

[36] Ibid

[37] Ibid

Chapter Three

[1] Sir Walter Scott. See declaration by the Galashiels Manufacturers to Sir Walter Scott (in National Library Scottish Section)

[2] A considerable part of wool spinning in Hawick (which was a large spinning center) as well as Galashiels and Selkirk was done by women at home. C. Gulvin The Tweedmakers. p. 57

[3] As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Board of Trustees for Manufactureres in Scotland had granted financial assistance to the Borders for the training of the local population in textile skills.

[4] For the independent craftsmen working in the factory was synonymous to slavery; a shameful condition to be in. K. Marx Capital Vol. I.

[5] Employing women in their own home is still practiced by the Border knitwear industry.

[6] As we show later on in this chapter, the majority of the population which moved into Hawick, Galashiels and Selkirk originated from the surrounding countryside.

[7] C. Gulvin, The Tweedmakers. A History of the Scottish Fancy Woolen Industry 1600-1914 (Harper and Row), p. 34 .

Chapter Three (Continued)

[8]Ibid., p. 105.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ballantyne Archives, Edinburgh University Library, MSS General 921-1215.

[11]Somerville, Autobiography.

[12]Gulvin, Tweedmakers, and Hall, History of Galashiels.

[13]Smout, History of the Scottish People.

[14]For a fuller discussion of female labour in the industry see Chapter 5.

[15]Evidence by C. J. Wilson before the Royal Commission on Labour, rpt. C. Gulvin, "Wages and Conditions in the Border Woollen Industry About 1890," Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society (1967), pp. 36-48.

[16]New Statistical Account for Scotland, p. 417.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid., p. 406.

[19]Ibid., pp. 23, 24.

[20]Gulvin, The Scottish Woollen Industry 1603-1914, Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University and Scottish College of Textiles.

[21]Information for this section has been drawn from the following secondary sources:

C. Gulvin, Tweedmakers, Ch. 4;
C. Gulvin, "Scottish Woollen Industry";
Martindale, "Rise and Growth of the Tweed Industry in Scotland";
David Seward, Wool Textile Industry 1750-1960, Scottish College of Textiles (1976).

[22]W. T. Peacock, "The Early Stockingmakers and their Industry," Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society (1960), pp. 23,24.

Chapter Three (Continued)

[23]Ballantyne Archives.

[24]Wilson, "The Industrial Development of Hawick."

[25]Gulvin, Tweedmakers, pp. 165,166.

[26] Report from the Assistant Handloom Weavers Commissioners, (27 March 1839), pp, 40, 41.

[27]Ibid., p. 42.

[28]Also quoted in C. Gulvin, "Wages and Conditions in the Borders Woollen Industry," Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society (1967), p. 46.

[29]Smout, History of the Scottish People, pp. 393-402.

[30]Ibid., p. 402.

[31]Report from the Commissioners — Friendly and Benefit Building Societies, Vol. 13, p. 66.

[32]Peacock, "Early Stockingmakers," p. 29.

[33]Wilson, "The Industrial Development of Hawick," p. 32.

[34]Some of their practices were to appoint a dog as a Chairman or to extinguish all lights when the members put their contributions on the table in order to keep the identity of the Treasurer a secret.

[35]Information on tenure groups has been obtained from old valuation rolls for Hawick and Galashiels around 1890. These documents can be found in the Old Records Reading Room in Edinburgh, at the East End.

[36]D. Byrne and S. Dámer, "The State, the Balance of Class Forces and Early Working Class Legislation," Housing Construction and the State, (The Political Economy of Housing Workshop of the Conference of Socialist Economists), p. 66.

[37]The above paper refers to the introduction of housing legislation in 1915 after the Glasgow rent strikes.

Chapter Three (Continued)

[38]Gulvin, Tweedmakers, Ch. 6.

[39]Wilson, The Industrial Development of Hawick, p. 37. The main controversy which involved the North British Railway Company and the Caledonian Railway Company and caused a three years' delay for the opening of the line appears to have been between the burgh of Hawick, who favoured the North British Company's scheme because it would place the town on the main line to Carlisle, and the Duke of Buccleuch, who favoured the route suggested by the Caledonian Company because it would give access to the Este and Teviot valleys, thus opening them to development. Eventually a compromise was reached and the North British Company carried out a revised scheme.

[40]Rose Damaris, "Towards a Reevaluation of the Political Significance of Home-Ownership in Britain," Housing Construction and the State (The Political Economy of Housing Workshop), p. 73.

Chapter Four

References are noted in the text for the tables.

Chapter Five

The information and tables included in this chapter have been obtained from the following main sources:

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Borders Regional Council, Action Plan for Development, December 1975.

Borders Regional Council Regional Report, 1976.

Chapter Six

[1]The Scottish Economy 1965-1970, Cmnd 2864 (The White Paper), p. viii.

[2]White Paper, para. 183.

[3]S. Holland, Capital versus the Regions (Macmillan Press, 1976), pp. 122,123.

[4]White Paper, p. 98.

[5]S. Holland, Capital vs. Regions, p. 152.

[6]Ibid., p. 156.

[7]Ibid., p. 159.

[8]Friend and Metcalf, Slump City, pp. 83, 84.

[9]White Paper, p. 11.

[10]Indeed a surprising assumption, in the light of labour cuts necessary in the technological restructuring which has been the dominant form of raising productivity.

[11]White Paper, para. 169, pp. 44, 45.

[12]Ibid., p. 57.

[13]Scottish Development Department (SDD), The Central Borders, Vol. 1, (Edinburgh: H.M.S.AO., 1968), p. 1.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid., p. 6. Assessment of Residential Environment and Townscape Analysis.

[16]Ibid., p. 5.

[17]Ibid., p. 7, for a full account of the recommendations.

[18]Scottish Development Department (SSD), The Central Borders, Vol. 2, p. 4.

Chapter Six (Continued)

[19]For the relation between wages and rent see also F. Engels, The Housing Question (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975).

[20]Lord Polwarth during the opening ceremony March, 1973, as reported in The Southern Reporter, 21 October 1976.

[21]Ibid., "Trying Times at Tweedbank."

[22]Scottish Development Department (SDD), Report on the Objections Lodged Against the Seventh Amendment to the Development Plan of the County of Roxburgh (1967), p. 4.

[23]Ibid., p. 6.

[24]Ibid., p. 24.

[25]Public Local Inquiry into the Objections Lodged Against the Proposals Made in the Seventh Amendment to the Development Plan for the County of Roxburgh (Corn Exchange, Melrose), pp. 1268, 1269 (Bernat Klein).

[26]Public Local Inquiry, pp. 1274, 1275.

[27]Central Borders Economic Survey, p. 6.

[28]Report on Seventh Amendment, pp. 424, 425, 432.

[29]The Weekly Scotsman, 17 November 1966.

[30]The Scotsman, 15 November 1966.

[31]Public Local Inquiry, pp.1112-1114(Sir Philip Christison).

[32] Ibid., pp.1111, 1112.

[33]Ibid., p. 1088.

[34]Ibid., p. 1087.

[35]Ibid., p. 1113

Chapter Six (Continued)

[36]Report on the Seventh Amendment, pp. 30, 31.

[37]Ibid., p. 31.

[38]Ibid., p. 31.

[39]Ibid., p. 31.

[40]Southern Reporter, 21 October 1976.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Scotsman, 3 April 1975.

Chapter Seven

[1]Board of Trade, The Cost of Living of the Working Classes, Report of an Inquiry by the Board of Trade into Working Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices (1908), p. xxxii.

[2]Ibid., p. xxxviii.

[3]Inquiry by the Royal Commission on Labour.

[4]See also in Chapter 3 of this thesis reference to wages and conditions during the second half of the 19th century.

[5]The evidence in Ballantyne's records is clear about the importance of women doing finishing work at home within the Borders of in other districts, during times of increased activity when the existing labour force did not suffice.

[6]Public Local Inquiry, p. 1108 (Sir Philip Christison).

[7]Borders Regional Council, Made in the Scottish Borders, 1977.

[8]J. Hirsch, "State Apparatus and Social Reproduction."

Postscript

9. R. Murray History of Hawick (1901)

10. See p. 135 in this thesis concerning the stockingmakers strike.

11. Declaration by the Galashiers Manufacturers to Sir Walter Scott.

12. See p. 134 in this thesis.

13. R. Hall The History of Galashiels

14. W.T. Peacock The Early Stockingmakers and their industry T.H.A.S. 1960.

15. Ibid.

16. See p. 135 of this thesis.

17. J. Foster Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution. Methuen and Co. Ltd. London 1977. p. 43

18. In a public meeting in the Borders, housing department officials made it abundantly clear that they considered MPs to be amateurs who understood very little of the art of administration.

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Additional Corrections:

P. 302 - After Chapter six add: Introduction

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